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Contents

The Week 233

Editorials

A New Party and the Unions 236
Ethiopia—The Newest Theatre of War 237
Mr. Hearst's Merry Men 239

General Articles

Jobs for All ..... Jonathan Mitchell 240
Prayer (verse) ..... Theodore Roethke 242
Some Salaries and Wages 243
More Aid for Shipping? ..... John C. de Wilde 245
Washington Notes ..... T. R. B. 248
Other People's Money ..... John T. Flynn 249
Beauty on the Desert Air ..... Otis Ferguson 250
Broadcast Music ..... B. H. Haggin 251

Correspondence 252

Books in Review

Protective Coloration ..... Kenneth Burke 255
Storm Signals ..... R. Palme Dutt 256
Men's Fate ..... Otis Ferguson 257
Kingdom of Jerusalem ..... Mason Wade 257
The Waste Land ..... Lewis Mumford 258
Lyric Prophet ..... Louise Bogan 258
Books in Brief 259

The Week

ON THE rampage ever since the encouragement they received from the unanimous Supreme Court decision in the Schechter case, reactionaries have been attacking the administration on all fronts. The Roosevelt tax-wealth program has been their chief objective since its announcement, and the President gave them a golden opportunity by his apparent indecision on the question of its prompt enactment. At first the news was that he was merely suggesting the subject for consideration in the next session; when the progressives insisted on immediate action, administration Senators produced a detailed program and said that it must go through as a rider on the bill renewing emergency taxes, to expire June 30; when this haste aroused widespread opposition, the President announced that he never favored it. The plan now is to enact the taxes after hearings, but still in this session. Debate on the merits of the proposal has been confused by the charge that Mr. Roosevelt is mercurial, unreliable and shifty. The House, prompted by expert utility propaganda, is in rebellion against the proposal to abolish utility holding companies, a measure high on the President's "must" list. On the theory that the A.A.A. will, like the N.R.A., be held unconstitutional, business concerns are suing for restoration of processing taxes paid in the past, and are refusing to pay new levies. Propertied interests found another opportunity to attack the President when he called for a bill to protect the government against possible suits from bondholders who might prove damage as a result of devaluation of the dollar, the Supreme Court having held that, while the particular litigants that came before it could not prove damage, the government's action on gold was wrong in principle.

LABOR in the meantime is becoming more restless; the rumbling of approaching industrial warfare on both economic and political fronts is distinctly heard. Bituminous coal miners, on the verge of striking because the operators could not come to an agreement either with the union or among themselves for a renewal of the contract on terms satisfactory to labor, were held off for another month by the intervention of the President. It is hoped that if the Guffey bill passes, creating a substitute for the defunct N.R.A. code, the operators will feel able to satisfy the miners' demands—at least until the law is invalidated by the Supreme Court, as is highly probable. The Wagner labor-disputes bill was at last enacted by Congress. It contains an ambiguous clause that, if administered by an anti-union board or interpreted by an anti-union court, might limit collective bargaining to company unions. At the same time reactionary employers gave notice that they would not obey the law, expecting it to be declared unconstitutional. A labor conference at Tamiment, attended by important union and Socialist leaders, listened to speeches demanding a labor party and a curb on the power of the Court so that the federal government could legislate on important industrial matters. Another political portent was the report that Mr. Hoover will announce that he will not seek the Republican nomination in 1936—on the surface a concession to those who shrewdly regard him as a first-class jinx, but possibly also a plan to remain in the background while other contenders kill one another off, and in the end be "drafted" by a wave of sentiment created by those conservative forces that undeniably want Mr. Hoover again.

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IN Europe, Hitler seems to have achieved his most important immediate objective by satisfying Great Britain and splitting her from her former Allies while he prepares for his future attempt at conquest on the Eastern frontier. The French and the Italians have not been placated by Anthony Eden's attempted explanation of why, in controversion of the Stresa entente, Great Britain came to a separate agreement with Germany allowing her a navy of a size that violates still another provision of the Treaty of Versailles. France's irritation was increased when Great Britain would not reveal to her the secret information, imparted in confidence by Germany, concerning the details of the building program. Mussolini used the occasion for rejecting British pleas for moderation in Ethiopia. He intends to conduct a war of conquest there and will not allow Britain or the League to stop him. This development also pleases Hitler, for it takes the Italians off his hands for some time to come. The French, in revulsion against prefidious Anglia, have rushed into the Italian camp. Russia suspects that the British are up to their old game of the balance of power, and begins to despair of a Europe united against Nazi aggression. What the British Foreign Office will have to do if it is to restore confidence in its intentions, is to assure the other nations that it is not working toward a tacit understanding with Germany that will permit Hitler to fight in the East while Britain controls the sea. In the meantime Japan continues to gobble up northern China, having got rid of anti-Japanese troops and leaders in another slice of territory.

A SHORT time ago the strong man of Mexico, General Plutarco Elias Calles, held the government of his country in the palm of his hand. Today even the minor props of his machine are being quickly and quietly removed. Political power in Mexico is held now by the so-called "left-wing" group headed by President Cárdenas. His recent election to the presidency was a protest move; the fall of his Calles-dominated first Cabinet instrumented that protest. President Cárdenas is the first man in nearly ten years who has successfully opposed Calles, and the first major political figure who has openly talked back to him. The three charges brought against the Calles regime involve the welfare of most of the Mexican people. In the Calles period, land reform became virtually paralyzed, thus keeping Mexico's four million peasant families still at a coolie level of existence. A considerable new-rich bourgeoisie was formed by means of favorable combinations with foreign and native capital, together with government graft. And government again degenerated into autocracy, sacrificing democratic rights.

THE vast, vague Cárdenas reform program, called *Cardenismo,* promises land distribution and financial and technical help for the peasants, whose special messiah the President wants to be. Next it is nationalistic, being unfriendly to the rapid invasion of American capital. In this attitude it is supported by the peasants, by labor and by the small artisan and commercial lower-middle class, whose interests come directly into conflict with those of big capital. *Cardenismo,* finally, places heavy emphasis on honesty in government, and on the preservation of democratic rights and democratic processes. Within the whole process of the Mexican revolution, the victory of Cárdenas represents two impulses: first, the need to complete the anti-feudal revolution which destroyed the Díaz machine, by reforming its economic basis, land monopoly in the hands of a small class; and second, fear of American imperialist conquest and angry reaction to the gains it has already made, which have benefited a few Mexicans at the cost of much wider interests.

THE staggering economic and psychological problems facing young men and women in the depression many times have been recognized by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hopkins. With the National Youth Administration, they have created an agency to direct and coördinate all government activities on youth's behalf. The present program of granting aid to college students will be extended, and high-school students of unemployed families will receive $6 a month for lunch money and carfare. For youths who cannot continue school, or have finished school, opportunities for vocational training will be found. Mr. Roosevelt hopes to revive the apprentice system on a great scale. Private employers will be asked to take on as learners youths who will be given small government allowances. A special effort will be made to persuade state and local administrations to employ apprentices as a first step towards a national civil service. Libraries also will be asked to accept youths as helpers. Work projects will be established for the construction of recreation and community centers, and young men will be employed even though their fathers also have work-relief jobs. The new National Youth Administration will have $50,000,000 to spend. Its program contains certain dangers, particularly the possibility that apprentices may be exploited by private employers. Nevertheless, it is heartening to know that the problem of youth is receiving serious consideration.

READERS of The New Republic have long been acquainted with Robert Morss Lovett's distinguished critical writings on English literature and his articles on contemporary subjects. They will be interested to know that a committee of the Illinois State Senate which investigated the charges of radicalism, made against the University of Chicago by one of our leading venders of patent medicines and the many varieties of gadgets sold by the modern American "drug store," has singled out Professor Lovett for unfavorable comment. Mr. Lovett, it appears, is "unpatriotic" and "cannot be an asset to any forward-looking American educational institution." This is because he believes in

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peace and opposed American participation in the last European war, because he fights for freedom of speech and other civil liberties, and because he is interested in various movements that aim to improve the status of workers and the organization of our economy. Who exhibits greater love of country and more accord with the spirit of its great men—the peanut politicians who are stampeded by Hearst and the drug-store king, or the scholar who has acted in accordance with his convictions?

WE ARE informed by a correspondent that on April 12 the Hearst paper in Detroit, The Times, gave a great deal of space and garnishment to druggist Walgreen's charge that the University of Chicago was un-American. On April 13 the same paper featured an attack on Japanese imports, warning all good Americans against them, and drove home its point by reproducing a photograph of a drug-store window that displayed six-cent Japanese electric-light bulbs. The store was one of the Walgreen chain.

IMAGINATIVE accounts of the next world war have described vast fleets of pilotless airplanes arriving above London, Paris, New York or San Francisco, and loosing tons of poison-gas and incendiary bombs that extinguish all life below. Last week the British Air Ministry proudly announced the successful development of a robot airplane, controlled by radio from the ground, and nicknamed the "Queen Bee." The "Queen" takes off by itself, rises to a height of 10,000 feet and cruises at 100 to 120 miles an hour. It is being employed to test anti-aircraft batteries using live ammunition, and can be made to dive, loop and roll to escape gunfire. At present its radio control is not effective for more than ten miles. British engineers, however, are working hard to overcome this handicap. If the range of control can be extended, the robot airplane is likely to revolutionize all warfare as completely as the naval torpedo, in the hands of German submarine crews, revolutionized sea warfare in the World War. If Western civilization is really bent on committing suicide, a neater, more effective instrument for its purpose could not be devised.

ANOTHER chapter in the grim history of international armaments is brought to light by a government inquiry in Sweden which reveals the hand of Hitlerized Germany in the Swedish arms industry. When the Versailles Treaty in 1920 forced the Krupp factories virtually to cease operations, an exchange of patents for stock was quietly effected with the Swedish arms trust, Bofors. This was done through the familiar device of a seemingly Swedish holding company, remarkable only in that two Swedish directors of the original trust were chosen to head the dummy corporation representing the interests of Germany, which is Sweden's only imaginable adversary in war. The German interest amounted to 63,000 out of 198,000 shares, or nearly one-third of the stock of Bofors, which now ships 95 percent of the arms exported by Sweden. The importance of this arrangement is shown by the fact that Sweden now ranks in fifth place among the exporters of war materials in the world. Her population represents only 0.3 percent of the world's total, yet she supplies 6 percent of the international arms traffic.

RECENT increases in this trade have been enormous, and are of great significance in the light of Germany's secret rearming. In 1927, Sweden's arms exports amounted to 11,500,000 kr.; by 1933 they had increased to 20,000,000 kr. Testimony at the inquiry revealed that most of the shipments are labeled for South American countries, but they rarely leave the port of Hamburg. Further sources of Hitler war strength were brought out in testimony that Bofors, in addition to its own gun factories, controls the largest gunpowder factory in the north of Europe, Bofors-Nobelkrut, founded by Dr. Alfred Nobel, and another huge plant specializing in nitroglycerin and other explosives. As a result of the inquiry the Swedish government put through an anti-dummy-corporation act which became effective July 1, 1935. Through this it hopes to do away with the system that permits Germany so large an interest in the Bofors war production.

UTAH is engaged in what is said to be the first attempt of a state government to set up and operate a system of self-help coöperatives for the aid of the unemployed based upon production for use, as the result of a law passed by its recent legislature. More than forty coöperatives, representing approximately 4,000 families, or 20,000 persons, on relief, have been organized during the two months the system has been operating. Interest is growing and new organizations are coming in every week. Briefly the measure provides that the coöperatives shall be non-stock, non-profit organizations confined to the production and consumption of goods by the members and to the barter of goods with other cooperatives. By thus keeping the organizations out of competition with private business, the measure avoided the opposition of the business interests and was passed without a dissenting vote. No limits are placed upon the variety and quantity of goods that may be produced. The coöperatives organized to date are basically agricultural, but they contemplate activities as varied as canning vegetables and fruit in modern community canneries, home building, house painting, storage and preservation of foods, bartering and bulk buying, making clothing for members operating coal mines, saw mills and grist mills. An initial appropriation has been made toward financing these enterprises and the way provided to get additional state funds. Federal aid will be used to the fullest possible extent. Aid is extended to the coöperatives in grants for the purchase of tools and machinery, seeds, the plowing and harrowing of land, the rental of buildings and land.

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THE movement was inspired by the success of the F.E.R.A. self-help coöperatives and the Upton Sinclair Epic movement, and therefore has political as well as economic implications. The coöperative and labor leaders who sponsored the law look beyond the present relief of unemployed toward a permanent system of production for use, which they hope will supplant the present system of production for profits. But they realize that under current conditions the production-for-use system cannot go far in Utah unless it develops powerful political support. They are therefore planning nothing less than a political movement similar to the Epic movement in California, which captured the Democratic Party in the primaries and has committed it to a policy of production for use for the purpose of permanently ending poverty. They regard the present situation in Utah as highly favorable for such a movement. The workers are disappointed and resentful over the failure of the Democratic legislature to make good its promise to enact labor's legislative program. To a large extent, the labor leaders who have been backing the self-help coöperative movement compose the group that has been formulating Utah labor's political policies. They feel that the change from alliance with the Democratic Party to a movement to capture and control the Democratic Party is the next logical and easy step for labor and its allies to take.

A New Party and the Unions

GRANTED that there is needed in the United States a new party, a party with real possibilities of becoming powerful in elections in the not distant future, and devoted to the purpose of establishing collectivism so that the working masses may produce abundance for themselves, what should be its organization and leadership?

Let us first emphasize that it must not be a "Third Party" and that even from the beginning it should not be thought of in those terms. If it is to be any more serviceable than the various political groups that already exist on the Left, it must have promise of being a First Party, and should promptly become at least a Second. In the United States particularly a party is not likely to be significant long in practical politics unless it has a chance of electing a President and a majority of Congress. We do not have a parliamentary system, with the executive responsible to the legislature, hence the holding of a minority bloc in the legislative body does not lead so far as in England or France, where power is often dependent on coalitions of minority groups. Progressive forces in the United States have long had such a bloc, but it has been able to do little except protest, educate and be prepared to lead action in specific reform measures when the time was ripe. But it is not impossible in time of crisis, when the nation is becoming divided on some basic issue, to form a new party that will supersede one of the others. The Republican was of course such a party before the Civil War. Before that, the Federalists had given way to the Whigs.

A party of this sort must be more than a set of principles or a group of leaders. It must have behind it broad economic interests, capable of inducing voters by the million to coalesce behind their candidates. Just as business has long used the Republican and, to a somewhat less extent, the Democratic Party, there must be some center of economic power to keep the party going and help to pay its bills. A mass party that can count on devoted volunteer workers and the membership of popular economic organizations need not of course depend so much upon campaign contributions or the distribution of patronage as do the older machines, but a large kernel of convinced and working members is for that very reason all the more necessary.

To serve as the solid basis for such a party it is natural to look to the trade unions, the farmers' organizations and the newer associations of white-collar and professional workers. Socialist and labor parties everywhere have been closely associated with the organized trades; in Britain the unions have supplied at certain times the bulk of financial support for the Labor Party. It is almost inconceivable that there could be in any country a really numerous and powerful labor or farmer party to which the economic organizations of workers and farmers were opposed. For these contain, as a rule, the most active and socially effective representatives of their constituencies.

From this truism it is natural to jump to the conclusion that the A.F. of L., let us say, or the Farmers' Union and the National Grange, should take the lead in launching the new movement, and that the high officials of unions or farmers' societies should become politicians and candidates for office. Something like this recently has been suggested by right-wing Socialists. Nothing is more unlikely, and nothing in the long run would be more disastrous to the chief aspirations of the party. The national leadership of the A.F. of L. has long been noted for its conservatism and for jealous guardianship of its power. It has beaten down or excluded from the ranks all those who have tried, in one way or another, to make the labor movement into a broad mass organization with ambitious social objectives. Wherever it has taken a forward step, it has done so out of a belated instinct of self-preservation, or because an upsurge of the rank and file, under younger leaders, has forced it to act.

This is not a matter of corrupt leadership, nor is it a mere historical accident. The higher officials of unions, under a capitalistic regime, are, with some exceptions, place-holders who have nothing to aspire to except keeping their jobs and salaries. These they do not wish to endanger by taking steps they consider rash, steps that may, by arousing the hostility of those employers with whom they have succeeded in doing business, lose them membership.

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And, on the other hand, they do not want to let in hordes of new members, who, being enthusiastic and "undisciplined," may upset traditional ways of doing things and vote for someone else. Even the most sincere and self-sacrificing officials, acting in what they consider to be the best interests of their organizations, are obliged continually to compromise with the existing rulers of industry, to come to terms considerably short of the ideal in order to gain anything at all. A technique of this sort leads more naturally to making deals with existing politicians and machines than it does to establishing the political power of labor in its own right. Much the same may be said of the professional farmers' leaders.

When the whole labor movement is suddenly threatened, it may officially and as a unit support independent political action. An important judicial decision or the nomination of totally unacceptable candidates by other parties may precipitate such a resolution. But in any case it is not likely to come until after considerable agitation among the rank and file and until smaller units of the movement have already started the ball rolling. And even after the economic labor movement as a whole is officially committed to its own party, most of the higher union officials can be counted upon to act as a brake rather than as a spur, as far as radical measures are concerned. Like capitalists themselves, they have vested interests to protect.

It follows from all this that the movement for a labor and farmer party, while it must have strong cohorts within the unions and agricultural organizations, while it must not be opposed to them and must endorse measures that are important to these associations, should nevertheless spring largely from activists among the ranks, and should find its leadership elsewhere than among the higher union officials. Both the economic and the political leaders must of course represent the same rank and file, but in different capacities. They should not pull in opposite directions, but they have separate jobs to do. The official of the union or farmer organization can do his own work with less embarrassment and greater efficiency if he is not at the same time compelled to seek office and to attend to public duties when elected. And the campaigner and office-holder ought not to be bound by close ties to one segment of his constituency. The rank and file themselves will be more free and can make greater progress if they have leaders in the political field to whom they can turn for the services that cannot be performed by the officials of their economic organizations, and vice versa. Furthermore, it is to be hoped that a political movement could enlist a much wider following at the polls than the unions have been able to mobilize in the warfare against non-union employers.

We should look with more hope to a movement sponsored, say, by the new group of "front-fighters" in Congress described by Jonathan Mitchell in a recent issue of The New Republic, or by some of the more aggressive workers in the independent political groups that have already established themselves in states like Wisconsin and Minnesota. Political training and experience are essential for a practical party. And there must be also, of course, an active agitation among the workers themselves, both organization members and others who have never had the benefits of union membership. When a movement of this kind has made enough progress, the A.F. of L. will be compelled to come along—provided the movement does not at the outset commit the folly of posing as an enemy of the A.F. of L. and of all the members of its constituent unions. This too often has been the fault of political radicals in the past. Statesmanship is needed to bring about just the right amount of coöperation without turning over the political party solely to the tender mercies of the old officials.

Ethiopia—The Newest Theatre of War

ETHIOPIA is an inland country of East Central Africa bounded on the northeast by Italy's Eritrea, on the west and northwest by the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, on the south by British East Africa and on the east and southeast by the British, French and Italian possessions of Somaliland. Created by the European Powers, its boundaries determined not by nature but by conventions and conflicts of nations, it is an artificial state without organic cohesion. An essentially backward nation, clinging to ancient superstitions and customs (slavery was abolished only a few weeks ago), it is now threatened with invasion by a war machine that, in terms of mechanical efficiency, is one of the best in Europe.

Why Does Italy Want Ethiopia?—Italy's ambitions in Ethiopia derive from three motives. First of all, as Mussolini told England in just so many words, Italy is determined to build up an empire. She feels that she did not get her share of colonies by the Treaty of Versailles and now, without the sanction of any document, she is going to take what she thinks she should have. "It is," as one Italian Senator put it, "the manifest destiny of Italy to possess Ethiopia."

The African empire, also, is not the place of fever and jungle it has been reported to be in the press. Its climate varies from that of the Alps to the heat of tropical swamps and, in its mountainous regions, it is said to possess sizable deposits of coal, iron, sulphur, copper, gold and platinum—which, inaccessible though they may now be, are valuable properties to a nation embarked on a career of imperialist expansion. It has already developed an important export trade in coffee, hides, ivory, civet, ostrich feathers, gum and pepper. Of greater importance than any of these, however, are

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the oil deposits reported by explorers and surveyors —and Italy's war machine has been greatly handicaped by the lack of oil in Italy.

The second reason why Italy wants Ethiopia is because of the location of its two East African colonies—Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. The only way to get from one to the other is by water or through French territory. In 1906 France and England gave Italy permission to construct a railroad across Ethiopia to connect her two separated colonies. For various reasons the road was not built and it is now the Italian theory that work can proceed only if Ethiopia is subjugated by military force.

The third reason for Italy's Ethiopian ambitions comes out of that part of the fascist philosophy which holds that the people of a fascist country, in order to support their regime, must occasionally be treated to a demonstration of might and fed the raw meat of nationalistic pride. Italy's first Ethiopian adventure, in 1896, came to disaster when an army of tribesmen under Emperor Menelek defeated a well equipped expeditionary force under Colonel Baratieri in the battle of Adowa. That thorn still remains in the Italian side and it has never ceased to rankle. When Mussolini roared at England and said he had an old score to settle, he meant Adowa. If, then, the Italian army can administer a crushing defeat to Ethiopia, the Italian people, according to fascist theory, will feel their national honor has been avenged and will have had demonstrated for them (with the benefit of propaganda) an example of Il Duce's might.

What Will the Other Powers Do?—To answer this question it is necessary to see what stakes these other Powers have in Ethiopia and whether their positions on the African Continent will be seriously impaired by Italian occupation. The only nations that have taken what may be called pro-Ethiopian positions are England and Japan, which brings them into conflict not only with Italy but with each other.

England is interested in Ethiopia because of the fact that the latter country, in Lake Tsana and other places, partially controls the sources of the Nile—on which depends England's position in the world cotton market. It is to England's advantage to control—or to have a very friendly nation control—Ethiopia's water supply. This is of more importance to England at the present time than ever before because a dam is now in construction on Lake Tsana which will influence the water supply of the Sudan—thus giving Ethiopia a certain measure of control over the water supply of the entire Nile Valley.

Japan's interest in Ethiopia is of a different nature. For the past five years, embarked on its own relentless career of expansion, Japan has been quietly penetrating the country. As late as 1931, Ethiopia imported 57 percent of its products from British India, whereas it took a bare 12 percent from Japan. Today, according to the Italians, Japan has captured 80 percent of the Ethiopian textile market and threatens to capture even more.

Japanese merchants and industrialists have been invited to come into Ethiopia and have already located themselves in various territories. A Japanese-Ethiopian corporation has under cultivation 650,000 hectares of cotton and in March, 1934, the two countries signed a treaty permitting the immigation of many thousand Japanese, who are to work on the cotton plantations. Both states also agreed (was it because their people have been discriminated against all over the world?) to encourage marriages between Ethiopians and Japanese.

All this, as well as tariff concessions and other economic agreements, has been going on in complete silence. England, however, has not been unaware of it—not with the disappearance of her Ethiopian market. She finds herself, therefore, in the position of having to choose between the ambitions of Italy and those of Japan. If she joins forces with Ethiopia to protect her water supply, she will at the same time be protecting the newly won economic position of Japan—with whom she is in conflict on a hundred points in the markets of the world. It would probably seem, in the end, a wiser procedure for England to turn her back upon Mussolini's invasion—trusting that, in return, Italy will come to some agreement about Lake Tsana and the waters of the Nile; which Italy, given a free hand in Ethiopia, would probably do.

As for Japan's allying herself with Ethiopia, that does not seem in the cards at the moment. Japan is too busy doing in China what Mussolini wants to do in Ethiopia. Fanatically ambitious though Japan may be, she is far too wise to risk being involved in an international conflict for a stake which, in comparison to China, will be negligible.

When Will the War Begin?—It is generally agreed that military operations will begin in September—the end of the rainy season. The intervening months will be occupied with preparations by both sides. The Ethiopian army, again contrary to the reports in the daily press, is not composed solely of woolly-headed tribesmen with spears. It is equipped with modern guns, rifles and a few tanks and airplanes—equipment, incidentally, which is believed to have come from the Japanese, not from the British.

Will Italy Be Successful?—The answer to this question can only be guessed. The Italians have, on their side, a fully equipped and mechanized army trained over a period of years. How this army will function in Ethiopia, especially in the interior, where it will be many miles away from its base of supplies, cannot be foretold. It is also a question whether the morale of the army will not suffer from months of idleness in a tropical climate. Despite Emperor Haile Selassie's efforts to modernize his forces, the Ethiopian war will resolve

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itself finally into a conflict between a modern and a tribal army. It will approximate, to some extent, the "Revolt in the Desert" conducted by Colonel T. E. Lawrence against the Turks. Lawrence's great success makes an Ethiopian triumph not impossible—if, and it is a great qualification, Haile Selassie can find a leader who can measure up to Lawrence's stature. Lawrence's method of warfare—quick forays, sudden attacks, swift retreats—would appear to be the Ethiopians' best chance. The Italian war machine is certainly more effective, as a machine, than that of Haile Selassie. The Ethiopians are said to be the world's best fighting men, but it is extremely doubtful if their courage and valor—and the moral rightness of their cause—can successfully contend against what appear to be overwhelming odds.

Mr. Hearst's Merry Men

A GREAT many uncomplimentary things are being said about William Randolph Hearst just now, most of them apparently on the theory that he operates all his vast and varied journalistic and other interests single-handed. But this is not the case; he has many thousands of employees on his newspapers and magazines, in his radio stations, motion-picture companies and newsreels, to say nothing of his other vast and varied enterprises. On his newspapers alone, he has dozens of highly-paid assistants. We publish herewith a little list of some of these assistants, and the cities in which they operate. It is not guaranteed to be wholly accurate, for the source from which it is taken (The Editor and Publisher Year Book) appeared several months ago, and changes in the Hearst organization are numerous and sudden.

New York City, N. Y.: E. D. Coblentz, Jerome Karpf, Lee Olwell, William A. Curley, Arthur Brisbane, T. J. White, H. M. Bitner, V. H. Polachek.
Boston, Mass.: Carl Dreyfus, A. L. Southwick.
Baltimore, Md.: M. F. Huberth, W. M. Baskervil.
Chicago, Ill.: M. C. Meigs, F. J. McCarthy, Homer Guck, George DeWitt.
San Francisco, Calif.: R. P. Holliday, J. A. Mulcahy, C. S. Stanton.
Oakland, Calif.: R. A. Carrington, Howard Krueger.
Los Angeles, Calif.: G. G. Young, R T. Van Ettisch, F. F. Barham.
Seattle, Wash.: W. V. Tanner, A. E. Dunning.
Atlanta, Ga.: W. S. Kirkpatrick.
Washington, D. C.: A. G. Newmyer, J. J. Fitzpatrick.
Albany, N. Y.: George O. Williams.
Syracuse, N. Y.: H D. Burrill, F. H. Hosmer.
Rochester, N. Y.: Meyer Jacobstein, Ralph Young.
Detroit, Mich.: A. E. Dale, J. C. Manning.
Milwaukee, Wis.: E. R. Mahoney.
San Antonio, Texas: W. M. McIntosh, N. D. Allison.
Pittsburgh, Pa.: W. M. Jacoby, D. H. Fee.
Omaha, Neb.: L. B. Tobin, F. S. Hunter.

These are some of the men who carry out Mr. Hearst's orders. They get tremendous salaries, and they earn them, for they are allowed to have few ideas of their own on any economic or political, national or international subject. With feverish attention, they watch the Master of San Simeon to see which way he is going to jump next, and with desperate, hysterical anxiety, they jump the same way. So, it might be mentioned, do the Hearst staff writers and artists. If, by any chance, Mr. Hearst should tomorrow become the friend of Japan, all the famous authors and illustrators, all the high-powered executives, would have become friends of Japan before that day's sun had set. Not only do these men have to follow Mr. Hearst in large things, but in small as well. If he should decide—as he once did some years ago—to print a large photograph of Miss Marion Davies in his newspapers almost every day for a long period, the correct publication of these photographs becomes at once a burning anxiety with these gentlemen.

Some of them are sincerely devoted to Mr. Hearst, admire him, and having few ideas, do not object to the fact that they may not express them. Others dislike Mr. Hearst intensely but cling to their jobs because they have accustomed themselves to a luxurious standard of living and Hearst salaries (for the men at the top, not the rank and file) are higher than any they could get elsewhere. It is perhaps their preoccupation with watching Mr. Hearst to see what he will do next that accounts for the quantity of bad writing and editing in the Hearst newspapers, for their old-fashioned appearance and for the fact that they have pioneered few of the really important journalistic innovations in the last quarter of a century. The Hearst workers are entitled to sincere sympathy; the eccentricities of old age, already noticeable in their employer at seventy-two, are likely to increase as time goes on; and every last man in his organization will be forced to sympathize with, support and if possible share in these eccentricities on the pain of losing his head.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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Jobs for All

MANY PEOPLE complain that Mr. Roosevelt's $4,880,000,000 work-relief program is difficult to understand. The complaint is justified, for it can be called a program only by courtesy. More accurately, it is a grab bag of diverse, inconsistent, administrative projects.

The program can be divided, at once, into two main parts. Rural resettlement, rural electrification, prevention of soil erosion and flood control are original New Deal objectives, formulated during the winter of 1932-33, before Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration. Their purpose is the permanent improvement of the country. Under the Rural Resettlement Administration, an attack is to be made on the fundamental problem of land planning. The Rural Electrification Administration seeks to make electricity the common household necessity it should be. The soil-erosion and flood-control agencies concern themselves with preserving and restoring the country's agricultural fertility.

The rest of the program has little or nothing to do with national improvement. It is concentrated upon the day-by-day relief of the unemployed. In itself, it is an amalgam of two quite different things —public works and the dole. Shortly after taking office, the administration committed itself to public works as a major recovery measure. Although its public-works program has since largely failed, the administration cannot, for the sake of prestige, admit this. In the present program, public-works construction has therefore been confusingly combined with a system of dole-giving.

The failure of the original public-works program supplies the real explanation of the character of the present $4,880,000,000 program. The old public-works program did not fail because of the idiosyncrasies of Mr. Ickes. One great difficulty was to find projects both intrinsically justified and inoffensive to special business interests. The program could not have been devoted wholly to superfluous post offices and courthouses. But the two most obvious categories of worthwhile public works, hydro-electric development and low-cost housing, were opposed, respectively, by the power-company managements and real-estate interests. Very early in the program, the administration reached the point where it should have said: "You power-company managements and real-estate operators have utterly failed to provide cheap electricity and cheap homes. The P.W.A. is going to provide both of them, and if your interests get hurt, it will be just too bad." Mr. Roosevelt did talk in this fashion to the power companies, and the hydro-electric projects on the program began briskly. But he was unready to challenge the real-estate operators and the bankers and mortgage-holders behind them. Low-cost housing, which should have been the backbone of the public-works program, languished.

The second difficulty lay in the fact that the public-works program was, in some degree, inimical to business as a whole. This was because deflation, by the summer of 1933, was approaching its end. To win the gratitude of business, a public-works program ought to be put into effect at the very beginning of a depression. As the capital-goods industries falter, the public-works program should be waiting to absorb without delay the workers who are discharged, in order to minimize the consequent upset in the consumers' goods market. In the present depression, the public-works program should have been ready in 1930. By 1933, a wholly new situation had arisen. Theoretically, business was looking forward to a period of expansion. In its public-works program the administration put itself in the position of competing with it for construction workers and investment funds.

Opposition to the public-works program from business took the form of protests against government spending, which necessarily included public-works expenditures. Representing this business point of view in the Cabinet has been Secretary Morgenthau, one of the President's closest advisers. Mr. Morgenthau's official duty is to see that the government's need for money never deranges the New York capital market, and does not discourage private borrowing. The less the government requires, the easier Morgenthau's task. Ickes' real rival has not been Hopkins, but Morgenthau. His success in government financing has been directly based on the failure of Ickes' public works.

These factors in the collapse of the old public-works program have governed the formulation of the new $4,880,000,000 program. Nothing is to be done to offend special business groups, particularly the real-estate interests, which the Federal Housing Administration has been tenderly, but vainly, seeking to revive. Business in general must not be discouraged. The program must be conducted as cheaply as possible, so that Morgenthau can regularly announce that the deficit is running below expectations. It must not make unavailable workers whom business might want. In a speech a few days ago to the state works-progress administrators, Mr. Roosevelt said: "We should not hesitate for one single minute to stop a certain number of projects if people can be taken back into private industry." The objective of the new program is principally to give regular exercise and training to the workers, so that they will be in good condition when business needs them. It represents the New Deal's hope that business will be emboldened to risk expansion in time to reëlect Mr. Roosevelt.

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In abandoning public works, however, the administration has not swung back to the dole. The reason is chiefly the great enterprise of Mr. Hopkins. As is generally known, Hopkins coveted the public-works program, and thought he could have succeeded where Ickes failed. After the C.W.A., Hopkins wanted to keep the unemployed at work. He had no money with which to undertake public works, but he did have funds with which to buy the raw supplies of relief. Accordingly, he instituted a program of having the unemployed manufacture a large part of their own food, clothing and household furnishings. This both cut relief costs and gave the unemployed a less abysmal standard of living. However, it smacked of Upton Sinclair's Epic program, and business became afraid of it. Pressure was brought on Mr. Roosevelt to have it abandoned. Anyone but Hopkins would have thought himself trapped. But Hopkins coolly decided to embark upon public works, and set about raising funds. Almost in the fashion of a charity drive, members of the F.E.R.A. went about the country soliciting municipal appropriations for construction work. While the earlier production-for-consumption projects have not been entirely given up, since last fall most of the F.E.R.A. work projects have been concerned with building town halls, courthouses, jails, fire houses, municipal garages and storehouses, athletic fields and grandstands, swimming pools, bathhouses, piers and many other types of bargain-counter public works. Last December, when the $4,880,000,000 program was being whipped into shape, Hopkins was employing 2,400,000. Essentially the new program is a means to enable Hopkins to continue his F.E.R.A. work projects.

There is a radical difference, it should be noted, between Hopkins' part of the program and the part devoted to rural resettlement, rural electrification, soil erosion and flood control. These are genuine public works. A third part of the program comprises a large amount of the usual government construction, such as harbor and river improvements and construction at naval bases and army posts, which have been removed from the "normal" federal budget in order to create a false appearance of economy. Expenditures of possibly $500,000,000, which belong in the regular budget, are being concealed in the new program. However, these also represent genuine public works, undertaken for their intrinsic value. In Hopkins' part of the program, the value of the work is incidental. Fundamentally, his part of the program is the dole, with humane trimmings. His work projects are akin to the classes in rug-weaving and basket-making of social-settlement houses. Very often useful, attractive objects are produced, but that is sheer luck.

The relief character of the projects under Hopkins furnishes the explanation of the wage rates established for the new program. "Wage" is a euphemism. The new program's "wage" is the old F.E.R.A. work-relief payment, slightly increased. According to estimates, the increase will range from $5 to $10 a month. It will still be shockingly inadequate for the support of an American family. This is the kernel of the administration's surrender to business. Where real public works, paying union wages, would compete with private employers, the new program has been framed deliberately not to restrict, even potentially, the supply of cheap labor available to industry.

An example will show the extent of the administration's surrender. Under the new program, payments for unskilled labor for Region I, comprising the industrial Northeast, will vary from $55 monthly for counties of more than 100,000 people to $40 for counties of less than 5,000. Under the defunct N.R.A. codes, the minimum wage for the Northern half of the country in the mass industries was fixed at $14 a week, the equivalent of $60.75 a month. Any hope that the new program will hold firm the existing wage structure is therefore futile.

The total number of heads of families and unattached persons on relief in May was about 4,250,000. Of these, the permanently disabled, the aged and orphaned, will be turned back to the local authorities. The remainder, the employables, numbering about 3,500,000, will come under the new program. About $800,000,000 of the original $4,880,000,000 appropriation will be spent by the F.E.R.A. for general relief purposes. Another $1,250,000,000, approximately, has been either allotted by Mr. Roosevelt, or definitely earmarked. This latter sum will provide employment for an estimated 500,000. In this group are the workers to be employed by the Rural Resettlement Administration, by the soil-erosion and flood agencies, on federal highway construction and on projects under the War, Navy and Treasury Departments, together with the men enrolled in the C.C.C. Certain of these agencies may receive additional funds, and provide further employment, later on. P.W.A. projects already approved will be completed, among them about $100,000,000 in low-cost housing.

The best estimate of the maximum number of unemployed that Hopkins will have to care for is 3,000,000. For this, his works-progress division will be able to command some $2,500,000,000. If these figures are correct, it will be technically possible for Mr. Roosevelt to make good his pledge of last fall to give a job to every able-bodied worker. But most of these will not be real jobs at real wages. They will be a special form of the dole. It is no secret, however, that the administration hopes it will not have to redeem this pledge in full. Since the start of the depression, the relief rolls have fallen drastically each summer. For the present, the old F.E.R.A. program, slightly enlarged, will probably suffice. By next fall, the administration hopes fervently, although without visible reason, that business expansion will have begun.

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Only two things seem certain about the projects under Hopkins. There will be enough white-collar jobs. The white-collar "employables" number about 300,000, and, besides the white-collar projects in existence, there are a large number of statistical projects already formulated by various government departments. The rudimentary start towards national planning during the last two years has revealed the need for more information about almost all phases of our economy, and some extremely interesting projects await approval. The second thing that seems certain is that the projects, in general, will be much like those under the F.E.R.A. To a large extent, their character will continue to depend upon whether local authorities are prepared to furnish tools and materials for projects of special community value. Recently, when the state-works-progress administrators gathered at the White House, it was announced that a "substantial number" of projects, many of them of a relatively elaborate nature, had already been discovered. Comprehensive schedules of projects were submitted some time ago by Governor La Follette of Wisconsin and Mayor LaGuardia of New York. When Washington must finance a project alone, Hopkins will not undertake expensive construction. The new program is certain to exhibit the extraordinary resourcefulness of Hopkins' organization, but the standbys are likely to be the simplified kinds of construction work: remodeling existing building, resurfacing streets, repairing secondary roads and digging sewers.

The National Youth Administration, under Aubrey W. Williams and Miss Josephine Roche, deserves particular mention. No other part of the new program shows more intelligence and imagination. It is an attempt to accomplish the general purposes of the C.C.C. camps without removing boys and young men from their normal environment. It offers perhaps the best solution possible for the most serious depression problem.

It is difficult to generalize on the payments, under the works-progress division, that the average worker will receive. About 64 percent of all unemployed are in Region I, which, as we have seen, comprises the Northeast, and will have the highest monthly rates, from $94 to $40. About 12 percent are in Region II, comprising the Middle West and Northwest, and there the range will be from $79 to $32. About 14 percent are in Region III, the Southwest, where the range will be from $75 to $21. Ten percent are in Region IV, the Deep South, with a range from $75 to the shocking figure of $19. In each region the range is determined by two factors, the skill of the worker and the size of the community. The great majority of the "employables" are in the cities, and will receive the higher rates; the most definite statement, however, that can be made on this point is that almost precisely one-half of the unemployed live in the 143 largest cities. As to skill, about 10 percent are white-collar workers, 20 percent skilled manual workers, 30 percent semi-skilled, 15 percent unskilled, 10 percent domestic servants and 5 percent without previous work experience. Exact figures exist only for selected cities. In New York, for example, 22 percent are white-collar workers, and will receive $94 (since New York is in the highest-population category); 19 percent are skilled, and will receive $85; 27 percent are semi-skilled, and will receive $65. The rest will all receive $55, and are divided into 12 percent unskilled, 10 percent domestic servants and 8 percent without experience. The equivalent figures for San Francisco are: white-collar workers, 24 percent; skilled workers 21 percent; semi-skilled, 24 percent; unskilled, 12 percent; domestic servants, 11 percent; without experience, 5 percent. The payment rates are the same as in New York. Both cities have an untypically high number of white-collar workers.

Under the new program, the white-collar worker and his family over the country will, with careful management, be able to maintain a minimum standard of life. At the other end of the scale, the unskilled worker and domestic servant would have more to eat and be more comfortably housed if they were in prison, atrocious as most jails are. The $4,880,000,000 program has an impressive sound, but its payment rates are not pleasant figures to contemplate, not so pleasant, for instance, as recent corporation-dividend announcements, or the rising prices on the New York Stock Exchange.

Washington. JONATHAN MITCHELL.

Prayer

If I must of my Senses lose,
I pray Thee, Lord, that I may choose
Which of the Five I shall retain
Before oblivion clouds the brain.
My Tongue is generations dead,
My Nose defiles a comely head;
For hearkening to carnal evils
My Ears have been the very devil's.
I've heard some deem the Eye to be
The instrument of lechery,
More furtive than the Hand in low
And vicious venery—Not so!
Its rape is gentle, never more
Violent than a metaphor.
In truth, Eye's the abettor of
The holiest platonic love:
Lip, Breast and Thigh cannot possess
So singular a blessedness.
Therefore, O Lord, let me preserve
The Sense that does so fitly serve,
Take Tongue and Ear—all else I have—
Let Light attend me to the grave!

THEODORE ROETHKE.

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Some Salaries and Wages

THE TABLE that appears below has been compiled by The New Republic from two sets of official figures in Washington. The figures for officials' salaries are drawn from the records of the Securities Exchange Commission. Those for the wages in the same industries are taken from the "Trend of Employment" compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor.

The individual named in the second column is in most cases the chairman or president of the company. He is usually, but not always, the individual receiving the highest salary. It should be noted that the figures for 1933 and 1934 are not strictly comparable, since the latter covers total compensation, including bonuses, etc.

The weekly wages given for December, 1933, and for December, 1934, are in each case for the industry in which the major part of the company's business lies.

Name of Company	*Name of Officer*	*His Total Compensation in 1934*	*His Yearly Salary in 1933*	*Approximate Average Weekly Wage in Same Industry, Dec., 1934*	*Approximate Average Weekly Wage in Same Industry, Dec., 1933*
Addressograph-Multigraph Co.	J. E. Rogers	$40,800	$40,800	$23	$20
Air Reduction Co., Inc.	C. E. Adams	76,269	45,725	24	23
Alpha Portland Cement	G. S. Brown	32,249	36,000	17	15
American Commercial Alcohol Corp.	R. R. Brown	50,797	21,000	24	23
American Hide and Leather Co.	C. F. Danner	18,806	15,000	20	20
American Machine and Foundry Co.	R. L. Patterson	40,000	40,000	20	18
American Metal Co.	H. K. Hochschild	24,000	———	20	17
American Radiator and Standard Sanitary Corp.	C. M. Woolley	48,000	24,000	19	14
American Rolling Mill	G. Verity	63,000	63,000	19	17
American Safety Razor	M. Dammann	59,740	54,000	20	19
American Smelting and Refining Co.	S. Guggenheim	50,000	40,000	20	17
American Snuff	M. J. Condon	64,256	50,000	14	13
American Steel Foundries	G. E. Scott	32,400	32,400	22	19
American Telephone and Telegraph	W. S. Gifford	206,250	———	27	26
American Woolen Co.	L. J. Noah	85,300	85,000	17	16
American Zinc, Lead and Smelting	H. I. Young	25,385	20,000	20	17
Anaconda Copper Mining Co.	C. F. Kelley	92,666	208,402	21	20
Anchor Cap Corp.	I. R. Stewart	46,644	31,725	—	—
Armstrong Cork	H. W. Prentiss	48,000	———	—	—
Beechnut Packing Co.	B. Arkell	20,800	20,800	13	—
Best and Co.	P. LeBoutillier	130,095	60,000	19	18
Bethlehem Steel Corp.	Charles M. Schwab	250,000	250,000	19	17
Blaw-Knox Co.	A. C. Lehman	33,500	36,000	24	22
Caterpillar Tractor Co.	B. C. Heacock	32,066	28,800	25	19
Certain-teed Products Corp.	G. M. Brown	24,000	32,400	—	—
Cluett-Peabody and Co., Inc.	C. R. Palmer	47,166	43,500	12	11
Coca-Cola Co.	R. W. Woodruff	100,500	75,000	27	28
Crown-Zellerbach Corp.	L. Bloch	67,500	67,500	19	17
Curtiss-Wright Corp.	T. A. Morgan	25,560	25,000	25	24
Diamond Match Co.	W. A. Fairburn	100,000	100,000	—	—
Distillers and Brewers Corp.	S. Ungeleider	37,500	———	27	28
Eastman Kodak	F. W. Lovejoy	90,903	———	—	—
Fairbanks, Morse and Co.	R. H. Morse	62,500	58,500	24	22
General American Transportation Corp.	M. Epstein	60,000	60,000	—	—
Gillette Safety Razor Co.	S. C. Stampleman	60,000	60,000	20	19
B. F. Goodrich Co.	J. D. Tew	60,142	60,142	26	20
Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.	P. W. Litchfield	81,000	81,000	26	20
Grand Rapids Varnish Corp.	W. E. Brown	25,000	———	21	20

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Name of Company	Name of Officer	His Total Compensation in 1934	His Yearly Salary in 1933	Approximate Average Weekly Wage in Same Industry, Dec., 1934	Approximate Average Weekly Wage in Same Industry, Dec., 1933
W. T. Grant	B. A. Rowe	$56,071	$36,000	$19	$18
Great Western Sugar Co.	W. D. Lippitt	53,363	50,000	15	18
Hercules Powder Co.	R. H. Dunham	55,000	31,183	22	19
Hershey Chocolate Corp.	W. F. R. Murrie	91,550	66,550	16	15
Ingersoll-Rand	G. Doubleday	78,000	78,000	—	—
Inland Steel Co.	L. E. Block	48,750	45,000	19	17
Interlake Iron Corp.	C. D. Caldwell	41,424	41,424	21	20
International Business Machines Corp.	T. J. Watson	365,358 (Includes other compensation)	60,000	26	25
Island Creek Coal Co.	T. B. Davis	42,430	43,558	18	17
Jones and Laughlin Steel Corp.	G. G. Crawford	250,000	250,000	19	17
Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co.	S. D. Warriner	39,700	———	24	23
Libbey-Owens-Ford Glass Co.	J. D. Biggers	40,000	36,000	19	18
Long-Bell Lumber	M. B. Nelson	14,250	14,250	14	13
Ludlum Steel Co.	H. G. Batcheller	45,775	20,945	19	17
Marshall Field and Co.	J. McKinley	60,000	60,000	19	18
Mid-Continent Petroleum Co.	J. France	81,000	81,000	26	26
Midland Steel Products Co.	E. J. Kulas	25,000	22,500	19	17
Mohawk Carpet Mills	A. W. Shuttleworth	50,000	50,000	18	16
Montgomery Ward and Co., Inc.	S. L. Avery	100,000	100,000	19	18
National Cash Register Co.	E. A. Deeds	75,000	75,000	26	25
National Distillers Products Corp.	S. Porter	75,400	75,000	27	28
National Lead Co.	W. H. Croft	88,013 (Includes other compensation)	15,000	20	17
National Tea Co.	G. Rasmussen	60,000	60,000	19	18
New York Air Brake Co.	L. R. Burch	36,000	36,000	—	—
New York Shipbuilding Corp.	J. F. Metten	31,000	———	23	21
Otis Elevator Co.	J. H. Van Alstyne	65,371	48,600	22	18
Otis Steel Co.	J. E. Montgomery	35,000	23,000	19	17
Owens-Illinois Glass Co.	W. E. Levis	100,000	100,000	19	18
Packard Motor Car Co.	A. MacCauley	40,329	———	25	19
Pan American Airways	J. T. Trippe	17,300	17,100	—	—
Pan-American Petroleum Co.	L. Blaustein	65,250	65,000	26	26
Penick and Ford	A. W. H. Lenders	52,175	38,000	21	20
J. C. Penney Co.	J. C. Penney	42,133	10,000	19	18
Pennsylvania Power and Light Co.	J. S. Wise	27,639	———	29	28
Peoples Drug Co.	M. G. Gibbs	50,000	40,000	19	18
Pet Milk Co.	W. T. Nardin	50,456	36,000	13	—
Phelps-Dodge Corp.	L. S. Cates	76,440	75,000	21	20
Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Co.	A. J. Maloney	60,000	60,000	24	23
Phillips-Jones Corp.	A. S. Phillips	44,119	36,000	12	11
Pittsburgh Coal Co.	J. D. A. Morrow	34,128 (Plus stock bonus)	24,772	24	23
Pullman, Inc.	D. A. Crawford	65,484	———	19	17
Radio Corporation of America	D. Sarnoff	52,330	———	27	26
Raybestos Manhattan	S. Simpson	39,825	39,600	—	—
Real Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc.	G. A. Efroymson	25,000	25,000	16	14
Remington-Rand, Inc.	J. H. Rand, Jr.	94,120	60,000	26	25
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.	S. Clay Williams	60,000	18,000	14	13
Schenley Distillers Corp.	Grover Whalen	78,186	———	27	28
Schulte Retail Stores Corp.	L. Goldvogel	30,300	———	19	18
Sears Roebuck and Co.	L. J. Rosenwald	85,139	61,363	19	18
Simmons Co.	G. G. Simmons	32,400	32,400	—	—

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Name of Company	Name of Officer	His Total Compensation in 1934	His Yearly Salary in 1933	Approximate Average Weekly Wage in Same Industry, Dec., 1934	Approximate Average Weekly Wage in Same Industry, Dec., 1933
Skelly Oil Co.	W. G. Skelly	$48,000	$48,000	$26	$26
Standard Oil of Indiana	E. G. Seubert	117,000	———	19	17
Standard Oil of Kansas	C. H. Wrightman	46,000	36,000	26	26
Stewart-Warner	J. E. Otis, Jr.	30,000	29,000	26	25
Studebaker Corp.	P. G. Hoffman	50,000	———	25	19
Tidewater Oil	W. F. Humphrey	60,000 (Includes other compensation)	18,000	26	26
United Aircraft Corp.	D. Brown	15,000	45,000	—	—
United Biscuit Co. of America	K. F. MacLellan	36,000	10,200	21	21
United Drug Co.	L. K. Liggett	62,000	———	19	18
United States Industrial Alcohol	C. E. Adams	36,300	34,200	24	23
United States Rubber Co.	F. B. Davis	125,219	———	26	20
United States Smelting, Refining and Mining Co.	C. A. Hight	55,210	40,000	20	17
United States Tobacco Co.	J. M. De Voe	62,820	58,522	14	13
Vanadium Corp. of America	A. A. Corey, Jr.	42,535	30,000	20	18
Walworth Co.	H. Coonley	25,475	25,000	24	22
Warren Brothers Co.	C. R. Gow	16,000	———	—	—
Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Co.	A. W. Robertson	78,805	75,181	22	18
Wheeling Steel Corp.	W. H. Holloway	44,486	27,945	19	17
Wright Aeronautical Corp.	G. W. Vaugh	23,424	20,256	25	24

More Aid for Shipping?

WHENEVER the American merchant marine is considered there is a distressing disposition on the part of every Congress and administration to throw good money after bad. One need only sound the patriotic cry that the American flag must be kept on the high seas to ensure that more subsidies will be voted. It matters not that the expenditure of millions has failed to produce an "adequate" merchant fleet in the past, for hope springs eternal that another Act will do the trick.

The Merchant Marine Act of 1920 supposedly laid the foundations of a "sound" maritime policy. It provided for the gradual sale of the huge government-owned fleet to private interests at low prices and on easy terms, and created in addition a fund from which shipowners could obtain low-interest-bearing loans to finance new construction. The law proved a failure; the aid it granted was insufficient, we were told by the shipping interests. In 1928 Congress therefore obligingly passed the Jones-White Act extending extremely liberal mail subsidies to all steamship companies agreeing with the Postmaster General to maintain certain services and to construct new ships.

Today we are discovering that the merchant marine is for the most part rapidly becoming obsolete. This time the failure is blamed on maladministration of the law and the diversion of subsidies to the personal profit of shipping promoters. We need only to plug a few holes, set up a few safeguards against the recurrence of too flagrant abuses, make subsidies direct instead of indirect, and we shall have a piece of legislation that will be a sure-fire success. This perfect legislation is the Copeland-Bland bill, passed by the House on June 27.

Those who continue to have confidence in the wisdom of a privately owned fleet created largely by government funds would do well to read carefully the report of the Postmaster General on his investigation of mail contracts and the preliminary report of Senator Black's Special Senate Committee on Ocean and Air Mail Contracts. They will find that, according to conservative estimates, ship operators have received over $171,000,000 in subsidies during the last seven or eight years. By June 30, 1934, $119,257,756 had been paid out on mail contracts granted in pursuance of the 1928 Act, and of this sum more than $112,000,000 was a subsidy in excess of the cost of carrying the mail. In addition, some 200 vessels had been sold to mail contractors at bargain prices by the Shipping Board. Finally, shipping men received $34,855,511 in the form of interest savings on government loans for the construction of new, and the reconditioning of old, ships.

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What the Government Hoped to Get.—In return for this government largesse we were promised a modern merchant marine. The object of the mail-contract system in particular was to ensure adequate replacement of obsolete ships. An examination of the forty-three contracts now in effect discloses, however, that only twenty actually require new construction, and these call for only fifty-one ships, of which twenty-eight so far have been built. Thirteen contracts stipulate only reconditioning of existing ships or substitution of other vessels, three contain conditional requirements for new tonnage, while seven make no provision at all for building, reconstruction or substitution. Even in the unlikely event that all the required building takes place, the expiration of the mail contracts will find in service only sixty-five vessels less than seventeen years old. The remainder—about two hundred and sixty-eight—will be between seventeen and thirty-five years of age, and of this number less than half will be below the twenty-year limit that is generally regarded as marking the end of a ship's commercial usefulness. In the class of combined passenger and cargo vessels of 2,000 gross tons and over, Great Britain has three times as much tonnage under ten years of age as the United States. In cargo vessels of the same size we are hopelessly behind almost every important maritime country. In the last ten years we have built only seven such vessels, as against 735 for Great Britain, 74 for Japan and 130 for Norway. The bulk of our fleet consists of old ten-knot freighters, which have rightly been labeled "woefully deficient."

Since the War we have been striving to build a privately owned and privately operated merchant marine. Today shipping companies are so heavily indebted to the government that private ownership has become an anomaly. Undercapitalized in the first place, they have not built up reserves sufficient to undertake replacements, even with the government lending 75 percent of the construction cost.

Where the Money Went.—The money paid to maintain the merchant marine in large part has been dissipated in the payment of high salaries, fees, commissions and excessive dividends. Profits have been drained off systematically through the organization of holding companies, subsidiaries and affiliates. The most flagrant examples have already been cited in a previous article in The New Republic (June 27, 1934). A few additional illustrations might be given. From 1920-33, P. A. S. Franklin, president of the International Mercantile Marine, received an average compensation of $139,000 a year. The salaries of his colleagues —J. M. Franklin, Basil Harris and Kermit Roosevelt—continued to increase from 1930 to 1932, while wages on I.M.M. ships were actually being reduced. The Roosevelt Steamship Company, an I.M.M. subsidiary, receives the highest known commissions for operating the subsidized United States Lines, another unit in the I.M.M. combine. The former collected $3,097,537 in commissions from December 8, 1931, to December 31, 1933, while the latter showed losses of $1,886,379. Two other subsidiaries of the I.M.M. are delinquent on their debts to the government. The Munson Line has also defaulted on its notes, although the two Munsons drew $847,200 in salaries and bonuses from 1926 to 1934. This same line would probably not be bankrupt today had the profits on its postal route not found their way into the twenty-nine subsidiary companies that it controlled. Many companies, such as the United Fruit and W. R. Grace, whose shipping activities are distinctly subordinate to other interests, received mail contracts, and, in view of their intricate corporate structures, there is no way of telling how much of the subsidies went to sustain their non-shipping enterprises.

Shocking abuses in connection with the administration of government aid have been revealed. Government officials and shipping interests combined to evade the requirement of competitive bidding on mail contracts. Out of forty-three contracts only three had more than one bidder, and but six were let at less than the maximum rates specified in the law. Officials were actually embarrassed when the United Fruit bid on a contract that they wanted assigned to the Colombian Steamship Company. An interdepartmental subcommittee meeting to discuss the contract in 1929 gladly adopted the suggestion that "the matter be readvertised so as to give the Colombian Steamship Company a good chance of getting it." At the same time it was agreed that the United Fruit should be "accommodated" on some other route. Mr. Glover, the Assistant Postmaster General, reminded his colleagues, however, that the Grace people might raise an "awful howl" unless they, too, got some of the pie. In due course everyone got his share.

The degree to which the shipping interests have dominated the Shipping Board is particularly evident in the latter's transactions with the I.M.M. In October, 1931, the Dollar-Dawson group and the I.M.M. concluded a contract with the Board for the purchase of the United States Lines, which had defaulted on its obligations to the government. Over the protest of Comptroller General McCarl, the Board granted this new United States Lines Company a series of concessions it had previously declined to grant to the old company controlled by the Chapman interests. Permission was given to return to the Board the S.S. "America" and the "George Washington" and to cancel the outstanding indebtedness against these ships. Notes due on the remainder of the fleet were reduced from $8,457,400 to $3,170,900, amortization payments deferred for three years and all interest charges during that interval canceled.

Provisions of the Copeland-Bland Bill.—Is there any guarantee that the evils of the present subsidy system will be remedied by the enactment of the Copeland-Bland bill? Under this measure, which

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embodies in large part the recommendations of President Roosevelt and the Interdepartmental Committee on Shipping Policy, the mail contracts are to be modified or canceled and replaced by direct subsidies to be administered by a Maritime Authority, a euphemism for the discredited Shipping Board. In return for contracts undertaking to maintain regular shipping services for periods up to twenty years, steamship companies would receive an operating subsidy based on the costs of the principal foreign competitors on their respective routes. To make possible the operation of economically unjustifiable lines, where the ordinary subsidy would be inadequate, the Senate bill would also provide, for periods of not over five years, a trade-promotion subsidy not to exceed the actual loss sustained in the operation and maintenance of the vessels after a four-percent return on the invested capital. The difference in the domestic and foreign costs of building or reconditioning ships would be met by a subsidy to be paid directly to the shipbuilders by the Maritime Authority.

The substitution of direct for indirect subsidies is designed to enable the Authority to adjust government aid more closely to individual requirements and the competitive conditions prevailing on each steamship route. While this principle seems sound, it is based on the untenable assumption that construction and operation-cost differentials can be scientifically determined. There is no method that can lay claim to accuracy, and in exercising its discretion in determining these differentials the Authority probably will not fail to err on the side of domestic shipbuilders and operators. The Authority is given the right, but not directed, to adjust operating subsidies periodically when they appear too high and lead to excessive profits.

Although the Senate Munitions Committee has clearly disclosed the lack of competition among private shipyards in naval building contracts and the huge profits earned on such contracts by the major shipbuilding concerns, the Copeland-Bland bill contains no provision enabling the government to recoup excessive earnings on the construction of merchant ships. The Senate bill places no limitation on salaries paid by subsidized steamship companies, and while the House bill does limit total compensation of any employee to $25,000 a year, officers would still be able to draw additional pay from affiliated or associated companies that obtain revenue from the subsidized company. The bill also fails to prohibit the granting of subsidies to intercoastal lines touching incidentally at foreign ports or to industrial and trading companies that use their vessels partly or primarily to transport their own goods.

One of the gravest abuses perpetuated by the Copeland-Bland bill is the practice of making government loans for building or reconditioning ships. Although the provision for operating and building subsidies is designed to remove most of the risks supposedly preventing the investment of private capital in shipping, the bill would still enable shipping companies to borrow three-quarters of the cost of construction from the government. The bill would even make it easier for steamship companies to cover their share of the cost, for it would enable them to unload their obsolete ships on the Maritime Authority at cost less depreciation.

A Possible Way Out.—What then are the alternatives? At least two may be mentioned: government ownership and operation, or complete abolition of subsidies. Senators Black and McCarran have come out openly in favor of the first alternative. Government operation, they point out, has never been conclusively tested. With the exception of the United States Lines, the large number of ships acquired during the War were never really operated by the government in the post-war period. They were entrusted to private managing agents, who operated them for commissions paid on gross revenues, or for lump-sum payments. That experiment proved hardly profitable for the government.

The best solution, however, would be the abolition of all assistance, for even government operation would entail the continued expenditure of millions of dollars and might only turn over the merchant marine to the political spoilsmen. Cessation of subsidies would not necessarily involve the complete extinction of American shipping, especially if the prohibition against purchasing foreign-built ships were lifted. The operating differential has never been so large as shipping men would have us believe. Granted, however, that foreigners can perform shipping services more cheaply and efficiently than Americans, why would it not be in our interest to avail ourselves of such services instead of squandering millions to keep the American flag on the high seas? We are told, of course, that foreign shipping would desert us in times of war or similar emergencies. Let us remember, however, that in the event of war the belligerents will sorely need the products of our farms and factories and will devise ways and means of obtaining them. Rather than risk involvement in war by transporting these products in our own ships across seas infested by submarines and other warcraft, let us have the belligerents carry the goods and run the risk of capture or sinking.

But, the admirals will protest, we need a large merchant fleet as an adjunct to our navy. We must have a big navy to protect our shipping, and we must have many fast merchant vessels to serve as naval and military auxiliaries in time of war. Such is the double-edged argument they employ. It is founded on the assumption that the American people will again be willing to send their army and navy to battle in remote corners of the earth. If this assumption is correct, then let us by all means order the proposed Maritime Authority and the Navy Department to join hands—for a bigger and better navy and a bigger and better merchant marine.

JOHN C. DE WILDE.

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Washington Notes

Putting Roosevelt on the Spot—The Big Wind Blows La Follette Some Good—The Little Man Turns Lobbyist

THE VIRULENCE of the newspaper attacks on Mr. Roosevelt's tax program has bewildered the administration, and immensely encouraged the Republicans and anti-New Deal Democrats. Very few important newspapers have defended Mr. Roosevelt, or shown decent fairness in condemning him. He can take consolation in the fact that most of the attacks have ridiculously overshot their mark. Thus The New York Herald Tribune last week announced that the Constitution was gone, and Mr. Roosevelt stood self-revealed as Hitler.

It is worth keeping the record straight. When he sent his message to Congress, Mr. Roosevelt had no real tax program. For many months, Treasury experts had been pressing to have inheritance taxes, as a new source of revenue, added to the existing tax structure. They also wanted the first steps taken towards abolishing tax-exempt government securities. Two weeks ago, administration advisers expected the speedy adjournment of Congress. Mr. Roosevelt's message was intended to give notice that at some future time, probably at the next session, he would ask for inheritance taxes. Meanwhile, he urged Congress to pass a tax-exemption amendment to the Constitution.

Apparently Mr. Roosevelt, once he started writing his message, decided that he could easily include a dash of New Deal propaganda. The accusation he hates most is that he has run the country into debt and hurt the national credit. So he wrote into the message a few vague paragraphs about increased surtaxes on "very large" incomes, and on estates of more than ten millions, the proceeds of which should be devoted to the reduction of the federal debt. The implication was given that the fabulously rich would pay for New Deal expenditures, and that no one else need worry about them. After sending his message to Congress, he left for the Yale-Harvard boat races.

During his absence, both Huey Long and the progressive group in Congress sought to take advantage of the message. Long was presumably insincere, the progressive group certainly and desperately in earnest. Since Mr. Roosevelt's inauguration, the progressive group has pleaded with him for drastic income, estate and inheritance taxes as a primary reform measure. Senators La Follette and Borah spent twenty-four hours obtaining signatures to a round-robin letter, and Mr. Roosevelt was forced either to agree to immediate action, or to repudiate his own words. Treasury experts spent two or three nights scratching together a schedule of proposed rates. Senator Pat Harrison summoned a meeting of the Senate Finance Committee without knowing what sort of bill his committee would consider.

In this comedy, only the progressive group in the Senate has shown complete sincerity. The newspaper attacks upon Mr. Roosevelt were wholly partisan. The newspapers were all aware that Mr. Roosevelt originally had no intention of putting through new tax legislation at this session. In his tax message, at least as to its timing and specific proposals, Mr. Roosevelt himself was guided by political motives. If, in the end, a tax bill is passed, it will be a clear, unexpected gain, for which La Follette and Borah will be entitled to the major credit.

Many observers doubt whether Mr. Roosevelt will reveal his full intentions about tax revision until after the 1936 election. When he does, however, there are indications that it will penalize bigness—big incomes, big estates, big corporations—more severely than the relatively mild rates now under consideration. The anti-bigness atmosphere of the President's tax message undoubtedly represents his real feelings. Heads of great corporations know it, and I think that this, rather than anything definite that Mr. Roosevelt has done or is likely to do, explains their bitter hostility to him. They know that Mr. Roosevelt has based his reëlection hopes upon business recovery, and that for the next twelve months he will do nothing to frighten big business, but they also know that they and Mr. Roosevelt will never be the friends big business and Coolidge were.

A ferocious struggle is taking place in Congress between the chain stores and the small retailers. C. Wright Patman, the bonus leader, is chairman of a special committee to inquire into chain-store practices, and has introduced an anti-chain-store bill. Spurring him on are the National Retail Drug Association, the National Anti-Chain Store League and other lobbying agencies. Patman is now investigating a rival lobby, the recently formed American Retail Federation. This group stoutly denies that it is the secret instrument of the chain stores. A surprisingly large number of House members support Patman's bill. Although it will die in the present session, its prospects for the next session seem bright. During last winter, demands for anti-chain-store legislation were presented, in many cases successfully, to about thirty legislatures. Chain-store managements complain that the new Florida law, imposing a six-percent tax, will drive them from the state. As a consequence of the new Iowa law, the Standard Oil Company of Indiana has closed down 1,200 filling stations. Recently definite progress has been made in organizing chain-store workers, and in obtaining wage increases for them. Alone of the retail group, the chain grocery stores have accepted, in the case of a limited number of canned foods, the consumers' grades prescribed by the Department of Agriculture. Until the independent retailer agrees to the unionization of his workers, and adopts consumers' standards, it is difficult to see why the government should intervene to aid him against his chain-store rival.

It is reported that the Board of Tax Appeals will soon hand down decisions in a number of important income-tax cases, including that of Charles E. Mitchell, former president of the National City Bank of New York. An earnest attempt has been made by Secretary Morgenthau to clean up the long standing, scandalous conditions existing in the Bureau of Internal Revenue. However, the ability of the Bureau to force wealthy individuals to pay their taxes can be completely nullified by the Board of Tax Appeals, the members of which have a semi-independent status. For this reason, the Board's decision in the Mitchell case, as well as its eventual decision in the Mellon cases, will be worth watching carefully.

Washington. T. R. B.

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Other People's Money

A Fairy Tale—Truth Is Stranger than Fiction—"But That Was in Another Country and Besides . . ."

ONCE UPON a time there lived in the little village of Schlumpberg the good burgomaster von Pleesemall. He was a pleasant fellow if ever there was one. He was in truth the very model of an agreeable man. That is, he loved to have around him only men who agreed with him, while he, on his part, set an excellent example of this virtue by agreeing with all who came to him with advice.

The village of Schlumpberg was a place where the good burghers had enjoyed the greatest abundance, so much indeed that they supposed they had actually solved the ancient riddle of poverty. But then, one day, in the midst of their vainglory, it was observed that honest Hans was out of work. The burghers promptly met this challenge by eager contributions to aid Hans. But when Fritz and Honus and several others turned up without work, it was seen that a major disaster was upon them.

The people were greatly exercised. They threw out the reigning burgomaster and chose the good von Pleesemall in his place. This agreeable man had endeared himself to all with his ready smile and a merry tune he played upon his oboe. He loved to sit at his window and toot merrily away his favorite tune, *"Die Zeiten sind wieder glücklich."* And so when the good man was elevated to his high post of burgomaster, the joyous burghers gathered around the little guild hall and sang merrily *"Die Zeiten sind wieder glücklich."*

Von Pleesemall had many clever stratagems for ending the tribulations of Schlumpberg. But the one that brought the greatest results was his plan to move all the leaves in Schlumpberg from where they were to some other place. The oak leaves were collected and put under the linden trees and the linden leaves were put under the locust trees. It was called the Emergency Rearrangemnt Plan and it kept Hans and Honus and Fritz busy.

But smartest of all was the way in which von Pleesemall got the money for this. One of his counsellors said:

"Your worship, you should lay a heavy tax on old Guldenrocks, the rich banker and merchant. He has gotten more than his share of our abundance. Take it from him to pay Hans and Fritz and Honus."

"No, no, my good friend," replied the burgomaster, with a sly glance. "That would displease Guldenrocks. He would be very angry and cease to love me. And I wish all men to be pleased with me. I will be more clever. Remember, my friend, the cure for all ills is cleverness. I will not take Guldenrocks' money. I will borrow it from him."

So von Pleesemall went over to Guldenrocks' counting room, which was right next to his store. He asked him to lend him 5,000 guilders on the credit of the village to pay the wages of Hans and Honus and Fritz and others. Guldenrocks was greatly relieved to see von Pleesemall come as a borrower rather than a tax collector and he granted the loan forthwith.

"And how much did you have in the bank this morning, Herr Guldenrocks?" asked the burgomaster.

"One hundred thousand guilders."

"And so now you will have only 95,000 guilders."

"No, your worship. I had 100,000 guilders before I lent you 5,000 guilders. But since making the loan I have 105,000 guilders."

"And how is that?" asked the puzzled burgomaster.

"I had 100,000 guilders. Now give me the town's bankbook. See! I write in 'On deposit for Schlumpberg, 5,000 guilders.' You have 5,000 guilders on deposit here. So my deposits are 5,000 more than they were."

"Marvelous!" cried the happy von Pleesemall. "What could be finer? I do not tax you. I borrow from you, pay Hans and Fritz and Honus for their useful work and you have more money in your bank than you started with and we pay you interest. Hans is happy, Fritz is happy, you are happy, everyone is pleased with me. Everyone is happy!"

Von Pleesemall drew the money from the bank, paid it out to Fritz and Hans and the others each week. Fritz and Hans promptly took it to old Guldenrocks' store and spent it there and Guldenrocks put it back in the bank.

Von Pleesemall thought this such a sublime performance that he announced Schlumpberg was "on its way" and he tooted away more lustily upon the oboe *"Die Zeiten sind wieder glücklich."*

For four years von Pleesemall repeated this. Then one day he found that Schlumpberg owed old Guldenrocks 20,000 guilders and that each year he had to pay him 1,000 guilders' interest. When he realized this, he tried to forget it by playing on his oboe. He blew sweetly into the little reed but the notes came out sourly from the other end. It is a plaintive instrument at best and hardly suited to the mood of *"Die Zeiten sind."*

By this time old Guldenrocks was growling about all the money due him. Hans and Fritz and Honus had grown lazy and listless and the good burghers were muttering.

Then one of von Pleesemall's counsellors said:

"Your worship, there is one thing left for you to do to please the burghers. You must soak old Guldenrocks. That fellow Koenigsmelt is stirring up the people telling them he will 'share-the-wealth.' You must strike first. Make a great speech saying you will tax old Guldenrocks—that you will take from him and give to Hans and Fritz and Honus."

And so von Pleesemall did this. He found that Guldenrocks was paying to the village in taxes 1,000 guilders a year. "Let them be doubled," cried von Pleesemall. And this was done.

When the tax collectors returned they found the burgomaster tooting gleefully on his oboe.

"Very well, my men," he cried. "Has the wealth been shared?"

"Truly, your worship."

"You took the extra 1,000 guilders from old Guldenrocks?"

"Yes, your worship."

"And what did you do with it?"

"We took it to his bank and paid it back to him in interest."

Von Pleesemall looked a little crestfallen.

"We have borrowed 20,000 guilders from him," he said, "and given them to Hans and Fritz and Honus. But they

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spent all these guilders in Guldenrocks' store. And so he has them all back and we owe them besides. Now I tax him 1,000 guilders to 'share-the-wealth' and we pay them to him as interest. He still has them. What of Hans and Fritz and Honus? Did you give them some of this?"

"Nothing, your worship. They are still quite impecunious. If you want to give them aught, you must borrow from Guldenrocks."

Von Pleesemall blew fitfully into his oboe—*"Die Zeiten sind wieder glücklich."* But the merry motif ended in a sob.

"And the leaves are all worn out," said one of his counsellors. "What will you do?"

"Here, take away this oboe. Hand me my violin. I shall play *"Die Zeiten sind"* on this. This is a merrier organ. I can play louder and faster."

And so they left von Pleesemall fiddling away.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

Beauty on the Desert Air

"SANDERS OF THE RIVER" is a film with nearly wonderful possibilities and a story achievement that adds up to practically nothing. An English picture, produced by Alexander Korda and drawn from stories by Edgar Wallace, it is not only weak but awkward.

Sanders is a man of iron who rules the dark, backward tribes of Africa with a just though iron hand and who, immediately he goes on leave, is falsely reported dead and has to scurry back to straighten out the dark, backward tribes. (Sanders is also Leslie Banks, who wears the most deucedly clipped British accent and a pair of spindly bare shanks, and who in short could not clap an iron rule on a dovecot.) Bosambo is his trusty chief, who is handy at supplying warriors in addition to the comedy-romance interest. (Bosambo is also Paul Robeson, who has a strong physique and voice, but whose mother was probably scared by Wallace Beery in "Chinatown Nights.")

Just the same, there is a lot of stunning material in "Sanders of the River," much of it taken in Africa apparently: dances of the tribes, the invocations of the shaman and, throughout, the crazy rhythms of the drums and that part of the singing which seems native. (I mean the few simple figures in oriental intervals and the heavy, usually discordant, group response. The singing by Mr. Robeson of what sound like original melodies by George M. Cohan, frequently accompanied by choir voices singing in careful English and at least eight parts, is neither appropriate nor winsome.)

At best, the show is an uneven mixture. There will be a scene like that of the palaver with the Old King, where the black tribesmen march up to the meeting place, with a cantor in a weird mask giving out complex variations on some marching chant and the response rolling out from the men; and where, following the King's defiance of the white man, the ranks turn and march off with all those grotesque trappings in the wind, and the marching music swells up in a solid bass monotone. Or there will be some work like the interlude where the tribes break out in war, starting with the variously shaped drums, one after the other, the rhythms too fast and intricate to be bogus; then a war-dance, well handled; then a series of overlap dissolves—masks, men, villages burning—and short inserts of animals, starting up and pelting away at the drum-beats, which keep piling up with the singing into a solid and somehow moving tone volume. (Speaking of animals, there is a great diversity of them here, and it looks as though a good bit of footage had been borrowed from the Martin Johnsons.)

Then on top of this there will be, in the story, some such priceless effect as the bit in which Mr. Robeson and Miss Nina Mae McKinney (as his mate—and a looker) are lashed to trees, and the executioner's knife already rests on the breast of Nina Mae, and hope is lost—too late, too late—and whacko! there rings out a shot from the fowling piece of Ironman Sanders, just arrived from hundreds of miles down river. Then there is a lot of machine-gun fire from Sanders' boat, and no one is killed, and then Sanders lopes right into the clearing, and is not hurt until he has released Bosambo, who is thus on hand to harpoon the Old King just when (is it too late again?) he is about to harpoon Sanders.

Zoltan Korda, who directed, walks through these action parts as though he were making a serial for Monogram; and when you add to this palpable plot structure the fact that the main people have only the most simple motivations to portray, yet not the simplicity with which to do it, you can see that as far as the fundamentals of this film are concerned, the jig is entirely up. As a picture, it represents a kind of waste that is saddening to think of. Georges Perinal (camera) and Michael Spolianski (music) are the same two who did the beautiful work in Korda's previous "Don Juan"; but where is the need for beautiful work on a story like this? The native color and sound are handsome, and in addition, somehow, there is always an exciting quality in the theme of a white man's trying to pull his bluffs in that dark, immense and ancient place. And then to start with, there is the country itself: those flat, hot plains and vaulted clouds, the simply unknowable rivers, and all. But these things alone cannot carry an entire film; they are effective in themselves, but helpless on the whole (as it was, the native sequences should have been more severely edited, especially as to the animals). The stuff here is just good enough to be a reminder that if Alexander Korda could get himself a good director and a few actors, and then use a production crew like this on Conrad's "Heart of Darkness," we might get something that would set a high-water mark for years.

Among the other recent films that I could get around to there is "No More Ladies," which certainly sets a new high for Joan Crawford-Robert Montgomery pictures showing how love is loved when it is made possible for tremendously tempted Eves to bite the apple and have it on the tree too; there is "Nell Gwyn," an English costume film with a certain charm in spots, Cedric Hardwicke in a fairly good part, and an odor of well boiled ham throughout; and "The Glass Key," a detective film just right for George Raft, just enough to hold the interest, and just falling short of the fresh vigor necessary to anything of the sort.

OTIS FERGUSON.

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Broadcast Music

IN THE past, the official apologists for the broadcasting companies have demonstrated my unfairness by citing the many programs which they call "classical"—programs in which a single aria of Mozart appears among a half-dozen things like "Angel's Serenade" and "The Rosary," or a single movement of a symphony is combined with "Melody in F" and the Pizziccato from "Sylvia." Let me begin, therefore, by saying that in this article I am concerned with the broadcasting not only of the particular kind of music that is to be heard in the concert hall, but of the homogeneous combinations of such music that are to be heard there.

When I first discussed this subject two or three years ago in The New Republic, I concluded that what was fatal to American broadcasting was not only its commercialization but the fact that commercialization had placed it in the hands of the American commercial class, with its indifferent, if not its actual contempt, for anything "highbrow," and its ignorance even when it was interested. American broadcasters, I said, either did not feel obliged to give the best music; or if they did, they did not know what it was; and so they were positive they gave a great deal of "good music" to radio listeners and became impatient with criticism. This meant that while there might be changes, improvements, there would be no comprehensive program intelligently planned and executed.

Time has proved this to be correct. There have been changes, improvements; but every criticism that could be made of American broadcasting practice three years ago can still be made today. A much greater quantity of good music is broadcast. But it is still true that very little is to be heard on weekday evenings, and that more than anyone would care to listen to is crowded into Sundays. As for the music that is now added to what there was three years ago, a great deal of it—the concerts of the Philadelphia and other orchestras or the excellent programs of chamber music—is lost in weekday afternoons, when most people are not at leisure to listen. Evenings, when people are at leisure, are the most valuable time commercially; and so it is still true that they are almost entirely taken up by commercial programs, with perhaps a half-hour at 10:30 or 11:30 left for an orchestra under Howard Barlow to squeeze in Beethoven's "Prometheus" overture, a movement of a Mozart concerto, a movement of a Haydn symphony, an excerpt from Gluck's "Orpheus" and itsy-bitsy pieces of Debussy, Saint-Saëns and Godard. Exceptions: WOR in New York gives an hour to its Little Symphony at 8:00; and recently the Cleveland Orchestra has been heard for an hour in programs of concert caliber.

The commercial programs still present celebrities like Ponselle, Tibbett, Bori, Pons, Crooks and McCormack in programs like this: "Somewhere in Your Heart," by Vallée-Wood-Cleve, the "Habañera" from "Carmen," "Water Under the Bridge," by Pollack, "A Dream," by Bartlett, "What Is in the Air Today?" by Eden, "Rosita," by Du Pont, "Music from the South" (medley) and "The Rosary." That is, the advertisers—as well as the stations themselves—still defer to what they think is the taste of the majority of listeners; and when they are not timid they are ignorant.

As a result broadcasting is full of grand but empty gestures—the business of ostensibly and ostentatiously giving the best, and then not really giving it. For example, the General Motors Symphony Concerts, which are intended to be very high class. Each of these presents a celebrated instrumentalist or singer, with a conductor who is sometimes celebrated and sometimes not. In a real symphony concert the conductor would conduct a symphony and the instrumentalist would play a concerto. But one hour is not long enough; and the way the broadcaster understands things, it would not be showing off the conductor sufficiently if he merely conducted a concerto with the instrumentalist; besides, the hour must present a great deal of music; and finally the music must be adapted to the capacity of the majority audience. The result has been programs in which Bronislaw Huberman, let us say, has contributed one movement of the Mendelssohn Violin Concerto, and later two small pieces by Chopin and Sarasate that would never be heard at a Philharmonic concert; and Hans Kindler has conducted small numbers by Mozart, Bizet, Moussorgsky and Brahms ("Hungarian Dances"). When Schnabel played the entire Mozart Piano Concerto in A major, Henry Hadley devoted the rest of the program to an overture by Reznicek, Mendelssohn's "Spinning Song," Tchaikovsky's "Song Without Words" and the third movement of his "Pathetic" Symphony, and Saint-Saëns' "Danse Macabre." The Ford Motors concerts, by the Detroit Symphony under Victor Kolar with celebrated soloists, are similar but worse.

When fine things like the concerts of the New York Philharmonic-Symphony are broadcast it is only because of their prestige value. You may say what difference does that make so long as they are broadcast; but it makes a great difference. If the program-manager of the Columbia System put on a series of concerts presenting all the quartets of Beethoven because he himself loved or respected the quartets of Beethoven, he would, for one thing, fit the time to the quartets; since he puts on the series merely as a gesture, he fits the quartets to the time, presenting the entire Opus 59, Number 3 and only two movements of the Opus 74, or the entire Opus 127 and only one movement of the Opus 95. And since it was not love of the Boston Symphony concerts that caused the National Broadcasting Company to broadcast them last year with a huge preliminary fanfare, one tuned in on a Saturday evening to find them gone, supplanted by a commercial program, after which they appeared for a couple of Friday afternoons and then disappeared completely. And WOR has cut the Perole Quartet down to half an hour, which is not enough for one complete quartet.

It also makes a great difference in the way the music is presented. Since American broadcasters do not care for good music themselves, they cannot conceive of its being interesting or intelligible by itself to anyone else; and so they dare not broadcast it without surrounding it with talk or entertainment. Though they talk with enthusiasm about the interest of the humble Montana miner in the New York Philharmonic or Metropolitan Opera broadcasts, they act as though he will not tune in without flowery language or human-interest stuff in the intermissions. This belief came out in an interesting way when the Boston Symphony concerts were being broadcast. Since John F. Royal of N.B.C.

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asked my opinion about what to do in the intermissions, I urged him to give the radio audience the same factual information about the music as the Symphony Hall audience received, by having the announcer read from Philip Hale's program notes. His answer was that they had tried to obtain Mr. Hale, but had been unsuccessful (because of his illness, if I remember correctly). In other words, not Mr. Hale's information but only Mr. Hale in the flesh could interest the radio audience in the music.

But the Metropolitan Opera broadcasts provide the best examples. Only one thing is necessary for these broadcasts: that the listeners know what the opera is about and who is singing. The intermissions should be used to tell them. The first season the operas were broadcast, the intermissions were used by the announcer, the sanctimonious Milton J. Cross, to impress the listeners with the wonderful, wonderful scene in the Metropolitan, and the story of the opera was told by Deems Taylor while the music was being played and sung. There was protest over his interruptions; and the next year there was no more Deems Taylor, but the entire job was left to Mr. Cross, who in the first place floundered about miserably with the story, and, in the second place, used up so much of the intermission talking about the wonderful scene in the Metropolitan that he had no time left to tell what was coming and was forever catching up with what had already happened: "What you just heard was Rosa Ponselle in her black-lace dress singing of her love." The next year a cigarette company took over the broadcasts and found it necessary to arouse interest in the operas with the human interest material of the vibrant John B. Kennedy. I listened to the broadcast of "Pelléas and Mélisande," in which Mr. Kennedy used the entire intermission for his anecdotes and interviews, and Mr. Cross had to tell the story while the orchestra was playing between the scenes of the act.

This year a mouthwash company paid for the broadcasts and engaged Geraldine Farrar for the anecdoes and explanations. Before the first act of "Die Walküre," Mr. Cross had five minutes which he used to describe the scene in the Metropolitan and to talk about the mouthwash, leaving barely enough time for the names of the characters; and so the radio audience had to listen for an hour and a quarter without knowing what was going on. After the first act Mr. Cross described the enthusiasm for Kirsten Flagstad; then he introduced an engineer who described the technical aspects of the broadcasts; and then he introduced Miss Farrar, who began promisingly enough with a few words about the Wagnerian music-drama and its leading motives, but who wandered off on the subject of the physique required to sing Wagnerian parts—the weight of the armor—"as my dear teacher Lilli Lehmann used to say"—and so on. She had barely time to play the theme of the Valkyries' ride (in the slovenly manner of a schoolgirl playing a sentimental song) when Mr. Cross interrupted with a few words about the mouthwash; and he had just begun to tell something about Wotan and Brünnhilde when the second act began; and the radio audience had to listen for another hour and a quarter without knowing what was happening. After the second act Mr. Cross referred to the battle between Siegmund and Hunding; then Miss Farrar invited him to accompany her on a cruise down the Rhine which brought them eventually to Coblenz with its fireworks and Magic Fire music from the third act of "Die Walküre"—a characteristically roundabout way of getting to the point. She then described the last scene, singing Wotan's farewell and playing the piano atrociously. Mr. Cross then told the entire story of the third act, finishing off with a few words about the "toothbrush with the round-end bristle invented by a science professor of a university."

B. H. HAGGIN.

CORRESPONDENCE

From Angelo Herndon

SIR: For a short time—until the Supreme Court reconvenes in October—the execution of my sentence of eighteen to twenty years on the Georgia chain gang has been stayed. In the fall the Supreme Court will act on my petition for rehearing.

You are undoubtedly familiar with my case, for it has aroused a storm of indignation among all sections of the population except the wealthy exploiters and the Southern lynchers. I am the victim of the Georgia "slave insurrection" law, drawn up in 1861 to crush uprisings of slaves against their masters. My "crime" was leading hungry people to the county commissioners to ask for bread. For this, and for advocating equality for the Negro people, I was sentenced to serve from eighteen to twenty years on the Georgia chain gang. For twenty-six months I was in the hell-hole of the Fulton Tower Prison.

My appeal to the Supreme Court has been unsuccessful. True, it involved such elementary constitutional questions as the right to speak, assemble, organize and petition for redress of grievances. But the Supreme Court, basing itself on a technicality so flimsy that three of the Justices would not concur, refused to pass on these burning questions.

New steps must now be taken to win my freedom. The International Labor Defense is launching a signature drive for me. It is attempting to affix two million signatures to a petition to be presented to the Governor of Georgia. This petition will ask my freedom and will ask also that the "slave insurrection" law, under which eighteen people besides myself are indicted, be wiped off the statute books.

Will the readers of The New Republic assist me by affixing their signatures to this petition? They may send their names to Room 610, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York City. Will they also write the United States Supreme Court expressing their opinion that that Court should rehear my case and judge it on the basis of the important issues involved?

New York City. ANGELO HERNDON.

Bad News for White-Collar Workers

SIR: The President's executive order setting the wage scale of professional and technical relief workers at $39 to $94 a month strikes a particularly virulent blow against this section of the white-collar class. Though the minimum wage for these workers as set by the P.W.A. has been $36 a week, the relief administration in New York City made the minimum the maximum, paying on the average $24. For example, physicians, engineers and architects received $30; lawyers and librarians $24; and technicians and research workers $21. It is quite clear that a wage scale which sets a maximum of $21.60 a month means a pay cut for the categories of workers enumerated above.

These wage cuts are being instituted at a time when the number of white-collar, professional and technical workers is increasing on the relief rolls, as the report of the Mayor's Committee Investigating Relief demonstrates. At the present time about 20 percent of those on Home Relief in New York City are white-collar workers, 4 percent of the total, or 18,000, being professional people. Of the 87,000 on work relief about 19,000 are white-collar workers. But there are hundreds of thousands of white-collar people unemployed in New York City who are not on home or work relief. With the President's new program requiring 98 percent of those

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working on relief to be taken from the relief rolls, and with the relief rolls in New York City closed to all but those who sign a questionnaire and oath that require complete pauperization, it is obvious that the Work Relief Administration is closed to the majority of unemployed white-collar workers in New York City. . . .

It is pertinent to point out here that if it had not been for the existence of militant workers' organizations, such as the Associated Office and Professional Emergency Employees, the plight of the white-collar workers in New York City might have been as bad as that in Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis and Pittsburgh. With the ending of the C.W.A., white-collar workers were dismissed in great numbers in all sections of the country. In New York mass layoffs were met with the determined resistance of workers led by these militant organizations, so that thousands protesting in the streets their dismissals were able to effect immediate reinstatement. Dismissals that were made in a few weeks in the rest of the country required months in New York City. . . .

The professional, technical and white-collar workers have united in fighting for the abolition of the Paupers' Oath as the basis for relief jobs, the setting up of trade-union wage standards and the establishment of a Workers' Commission to take care of workers' grievances. It is hoped in time to revive, or institute, the economic functions of the old vested professional societies to the end that all white-collar professional and technical workers in New York City when not absorbed in private industry shall be assured government jobs.

O. R. Fuss, Executive Secretary,
Associated Office and Professional Emergency Employees.
New York City.

"Partners in Plunder"

SIR: A *favorable* review by Mr. Benjamin Stolberg, like one by Hugh Johnson, is something for any author to worry about. There is no good reason, however, for permitting a full page of misstatements and distortions to stand unchallenged. [Mr. Stolberg reviewed "Partners in Plunder" in The New Republic of May 15.]

Just why Mr. Stolberg wanted to leave the impression that he is or ever has been a subscriber to the bulletins of Consumers' Research is not clear. Yet he says: "For its bulletins I am genuinely grateful," and "these bulletins tell exactly," etc. The only possible impression is a false one. He cites six or seven items with the plain inference that they are drawn from the bulletins of C.R. Each of these items is found in "Partners in Plunder," and most of them have never appeared in any bulletins of C.R.

Mr. Stolberg speaks of our "liberal addiction to consumers' coöperatives." The Nation's reviewer declared that we viewed the growing consumers' coöperative movement "with open contempt as a fascist development." Both statements are wholly false, as any one inclined to investigate what we say may verify.

In writing a book it is necessary to assume a certain degree of economic literacy in the reader even when he is a reviewer. We assumed that such as Mr. Stolberg would know that Seligman is not a Marxian economist. When Seligman made the statement which we attribute to him, he was appearing as a witness for the Sugar Institute. His use of the word "producer" was, as our context plainly shows, not that of a "worker" but of an "owner" who has commodities to sell. Mr. Stolberg seized upon the double meaning of the word "producer" to berate us—a trick which our context does not honestly permit.

We said: "Only when all men stand primarily in the position of consumers to the available goods and services of society will it be possible to . . . establish a classless community." In requoting the statement, however, Mr. Stolberg drops the words *all men*—on which the *full* weight of the idea rests—and produces the utterly meaningless statement, "We also 'stand primarily,'" etc. Who is the "we"? Mr. Stolberg certainly, but not J. P. Morgan. There are men whose primary relationship to consumers' goods today is their utilization of them for profit. Even a "ham Marxist" knows the Marxian formula in which the capitalist process is described as an investment of money in order to obtain more money, with commodities occupying an instrumental position as mere means to the attainment of the monetary end. Such men do not stand primarily in the position of consumers in their relationship to goods.

We do *not* say that America is in danger of fascism *'because* [italics mine] Lifebuoy Soap is 'regimenting' the American people into a petty-bourgeois dread of B. O.," and when Mr. Stolberg puts the idea into our book he is guilty of another gross distortion, as a glance at page 57 will make clear to anyone.

I am genuinely disturbed at Mr. Stolberg's charge that we were "smart-Alecky." I have for a long time conceded his preëminence in this field. If we have invaded one of his vested interests in this respect, we must apologize and withdraw as unlicensed practitioners from the field.

Mr. Stolberg quotes approvingly John Chamberlain's heroic offer: "Give me purchasing power and I will take the blame for bad judgment in using it." Just how much purchasing power these two gentlemen require for assuming this responsibility they do not state. Enough to maintain their own laboratories and technicians? Surely they do not *instinctively* recognize the toxicity and the sophistication in goods for the detection of which all others require the science of chemistry, physics and biology. If they mean by their statement to erect such a doctrine of *caveat emptor* into a social principle, they should be recognized for the menace that they are in advocating the removal of present legal safeguards against shoddy and poison and in opposing the further extension of such vitally important social controls.

New York City. J. B. Matthews.

SIR: With the best will on earth I cannot answer the Reverend Mr. Matthews' bill of complaints of my review of "Partners in Plunder" very clearly or seriatim, for the same reason that I could not answer logically and point by point one of Joe Cook's nonsense-monologues if I were challenged to do so. To me, Mr. Matthews' thinking is utterly confused, and his English only serves to confound his thought. This, of course, he cannot help. But I do think that it is not quite honest of him to pose as a Marxian critic, which he must know he isn't; for most of us have a pretty good idea what we did or did not study. And now I want to answer Mr. Matthews as well as I know how.

1. His first complaint is very simple. By deductive reasoning he came to the conclusion that I am just a cheap four-flusher. It seemed to him that, in my review, I tried to convey that I am one of the socially elect who subscribe to the "confidential" bulletins of Consumers' Research. Whereupon he checked up on the social register of C.R. and discovered that I am not one of the underground élite. Ergo, I could not have seen any of these bulletins and, *ergo*, I am just a common liar when I express my admiration for the value of these bulletins. To clinch his point, Mr. Matthews guessed that the few items with which I illustrated my respect for these bulletins are drawn from "Partners in Plunder," though, to him, I tried to make it appear by "plain inference" that I took them from the bulletins. Mr. Matthews is naïve enough to believe that these bulletins are inaccessible to a journalist who is interested in them. Well, the reason I did not get these items from the bulletins directly is because it was much less trouble to get them from Mr. Matthews' and Miss Shallcross' book, for they got their stuff from exactly the same place, namely, the files of C.R.

2. Both the Nation reviewer and I were absolutely wrong, though for opposite reasons, according to Mr. Matthews. The Nation reviewer accused the authors of "Partners in Plunder" of viewing the consumers' coöperative movement "with open contempt as a fascist development," while I pointed out that they are a couple of liberals who consider themselves a couple of Bolsheviks, "though of course they are very fashionably contemptuous of all liberalism." I think that both the Nation reviewer and myself were right, which describes the extent of the authors' confusion. Indeed, the burden of my criticism of the book was precisely that the authors, beyond their desire to join the left-wing band wagon, don't know what it's all about. They are forever, on almost every other page, arguing that America is facing fascism, and then prove their point by the fact that the average advertiser is a liar and that many manufacturers are making shoddy and sometimes poisonous goods. America may be facing fascism, but the proof of it is not in the "confidential" files of Consumers' Research.

3. I made it very clear in my review—indeed The New Republic added to my copy two very wise sentences to make it

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absolutely clear—that I do not consider Dr. Seligman a revolutionary Marxist. All I said was that the isolated sentence that Mr. Matthews and Miss Shallcross quoted, with a very superior air, as a sample of academic prostitution under capitalism, is a perfectly sound sentence. Said Dr. Seligman: "As between the interests of consumer and producer, the producer should, if need be, be favored." In this isolated sentence Dr. Seligman is merely saying that the productive process is the strategic economic process. And so it is—under capitalism, under socialism and, for that matter, under feudalism or matriarchy. Marx in "The Critique of Political Economy" says the same thing:

> Consumption as a natural necessity, as a want, constitutes an *internal* factor of productive activity, but the *latter* is the *starting point of realization* and, therefore, its *predominating factor, the act into which the entire process resolves* itself in the end. The individual produces a certain article and turns again into himself by consuming it; but he returns as a productive and self-reproducing individual. *Consumption thus appears as a factor of production.* (Italics mine.)

4. Mr. Matthews' accusation that I "requoted" an important sentence and then dropped out two significant words is false. I did not "requote" the sentence he refers to. I *quoted* it, and I quoted it *in full.* The sentence, which Mr. Matthews considers as the gist of his "Marxian" philosophy, reads as follows: "Only when all men stand primarily in the position of consumers to the available goods and services of a society will it be possible to eliminate class differentiations and advantages, and thereby establish a classless society." Space forbids a detailed analysis of why this sentence is true nonsense, why it makes no sense from the point of view of the Marxian dialectic or any other sociology. And when Mr. Matthews illustrates his point by claiming that J. P. Morgan, according to the "Marxian formula," is in power because he controls consumers' goods, he is wrong again. *The capitalists control society because they control the productive process.* Said Marx in "The Poverty of Philosophy": "The use of products is determined by the social conditions in which the consumers are placed and these conditions rest on the antagonism of classes." And the antagonism of classes springs from the productive maladjustments of the social economy.

5. I reread Mr. Matthews' last paragraph several times. I still don't know why John Chamberlain and I are a social "menace." Chamberlain said, and I echoed him, "The case against capitalism still seems to be that it does not distribute enough money to buy goods, not that it makes shoddy goods." What's wrong with that statement? Why should Chamberlain and I become experts in "chemistry, physics and biology"? Did Marx and Engels "maintain their own laboratories and technicians" in order to be entitled to express the same opinion a thousand times? It seems to me far more incumbent on the Reverend Mr. Matthews to study the social theories he does not understand before he discusses them with such authoritative vehemence.

BENJAMIN STOLBERG.

New York City.

Extracts from Letters

A LETTER asking for the recall of the United States Ambassador to Cuba, Jefferson Caffrey, on the ground that his mental attitude is that of a "colonial administrator" and that he acts "rather as a member of the Cuban government than as a representative of the United States" has been sent to Secretary of State Cordell Hull by the International Committee for Political Prisoners. Another communication was sent simultaneously to President Mendieta of Cuba, protesting against the "reign of terror" in that country, "the abandonment . . . of civil liberties . . . and the general return to the tyrannical methods of Machado." The letters were signed by Arthur Garfield Hays, Oswald Garrison Villard, Charles Edward Russell, Paul H. Douglas, Robert Morss Lovett, Michael Francis Doyle, Lewis S. Gannett, Dorothy Detzer, Bruce Bliven, Waldo Frank, Mrs. Mary C. N. Davis and Roger Baldwin.

Olivet College announces a Writers' Conference to be held at Olivet, Michigan, from July 12 to August 3. The purpose of the conference is to find intelligent solutions of the individual problems of both amateur and professional writers, and the staff and lecturers include Eleanor Blake, Dorothea Brande, Joseph Brewer, Caroline Gordon, Nannine Joseph, Arthur Pound, Carl Sandburg, Allen Tate and Jean Starr Untermyer.

The editor and publisher of The American Mercury send us a letter saying that although the National Labor Relations Board, as a consequence of the Supreme Court's N.R.A. decision, has dismissed the case brought against the magazine by the Office Workers' Union, thus officially closing the incident, the magazine would like to make clear its whole position in the strike of its office staff. In the first place, the sole issue, from The Mercury's standpoint, was the right of the editor to dismiss a confidential employee who had, in his opinion, proved unsatisfactory. As for the charge of the strikers that two of their number were discharged for union activities, the executives contend that one of these two individuals, the secretary of the publisher, resigned five days before the strike, and her resignation was accepted; that according to the strikers' own testimony, the magazine was not informed even of the existence of a union until twenty-four hours before the walkout; and that documentary proof, in the shape of copy for a classified advertisement calling for a successor, is available to show that the magazine planned to discharge the editorial secretary three days before it knew a union existed. As for the charge that the union's demands were rejected, the magazine points out that only two persons were receiving less than the $21 weekly minimum asked for, that this figure, $17, was above the N.R.A. minimum, and that the magazine agreed to pay and is now paying a $21 minimum; that the two weeks' vacation with pay, as demanded, was the regular plan of the present owners; that the present owners had made no pay cuts and thus could restore none; and that, far from refusing to recognize the union and the principle of collective bargaining, when the existence of the union was announced to the publisher, he replied that The Mercury would recognize the union and would deal with the shop committee.

The foregoing statement was shown to the strike committee of the Office Workers' Union and their reply follows: "The statement of The Mercury's owners is simply a needless repetition of the alibis blown to pieces at the N.R.A. hearing, at which a decision was given in favor of the strikers and their immediate reinstatement was ordered. Equivocation can go to no greater lengths than The Mercury's analysis of the United States Supreme Court decision. The Supreme Court abolished the N.R.A., not the right to strike; only strikers can do that. The 'sole issue' raised by The Mercury is not an issue; but an attempt to avoid the issue. We have not contested the right of an employer to discharge an employee for just cause. The 'resignation' of the secretary of the publisher was merely a complaint on her part as to working conditions. Mr. Spivak promised to adjust these conditions and admitted this at the N.R.A. hearing. This resignation was so satisfactory that Mr. Spivak had to fire her for 'inefficiency' to confirm it. The advertisement referred to was so vague that at the N.R.A. hearing neither Mr. Spivak nor Mr. Palmer could make up his mind as to which of the secretaries it actually referred to. The editorial secretary had never received any warning of her 'inefficiency' until the day after she personally had announced that the entire staff had joined the Office Workers' Union.

"The $21 minimum weekly wage asked for was obviously meant for the two persons receiving less than that, $17. The magazine is now paying this $21 minimum only to scabs. The 'regular' plan of the present owners to provide two weeks' vacation with pay was never announced and never would have been. The present owners made no pay cuts, but they insisted that the staff continue to accept indefinitely the reduction made by the last owner, who, by the way, has restored similar cuts to his present employees. After the strike started The Mercury's owners called off the first attempt at mediation solely on the grounds that a union representative was present and that they could not deal with this person. They insist that the calling off of this conference and the refusal of all subsequent attempts on our part at mediation in no wise conflict with their conception of union recognition."

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Protective Coloration

THE MOST notable quality about Robert Forsythe's tracts[1] on the blotches, itches and agues of the day is that they can make you feel good. Have you flushed or grown dizzy in helpless fury when contemplating the antics of Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, president of the College of the City of New York? If so, Forsythe's hilarious article on "The All-American" will give you the first relief you have had in months. Have there been occasions when you felt that the blunt police were positively monumental in their obstruction of economic decency? In "Cops Are Funny People—if at all" you will find catharsis. Have you winced somewhat at the grotesque avidity of our typical murder trials, gladiatorial combats for decadent eras wherein purely imaginative tragedy will no longer suffice, and there must be real live victims thrown to the lions? Then you will be glad to participate in the vindictive descriptions (in "Five Star Final") of the major commercial enterprise constructed about the fate of the lone wretch Hauptmann. Similarly, for many other of our contemporary ills, Forsythe provides the effective verbal specific.

At one point in this collection of satiric essays (many of which originally appeared in The New Masses) the author says that "hypocrisy appears to be a perverted form of satire," since "in satire you appear to be writing about one thing when you are actually writing about the reverse." Forsythe is far too much a Savonarola of late capitalism to maintain the simple pattern of "hypocrisy in reverse" throughout the book. Frequently his zeal in assembling objects for the Pyre of Vanities, or in describing the directives of Soviet Russia, induces him to drop the strangely complex smile by which satire is contrived, and to speak without stylistic subterfuge. He stops guying, and becomes the earnest swearing preacher. Occasionally this shift of pattern bothered me on esthetic grounds, as a slightly broken frame. Some readers find it hard to make the adjustment necessary for the appreciation of satire in any case, and Forsythe's tendency to shuttle between the serious and the mock-serious may trouble persons not completely at home in his point of view. But if readers can shift each time the writer shifts, if their judgments are sufficiently like his for them to meet him halfway, they will be happy thus to "prepare" themselves mimetically for better days with the aid of Forsythe's symbolic revolution against contemporary evils.

There is a notable distinction between the satiric propagandist (such as Forsythe) and the universal satirist (best exemplified for us in Swift). The universal satirist attacks all mankind; and his occupation may in the end assume almost diabolic attributes. The satiric propagandist, on the other hand, has no quarrel with mankind. He is against some class or group of men. In contrast with the austerity of the universal satirist, there are definite areas of humanity that he is obliged by his program to spare. Of course, no one's condemnation is absolute: even Swift tended to forgive people in so far as they possessed the gentility of horses—but such a spiritual test could not make for clear practical alliances of the sort that marks the satiric propagandist. There is some fundamental difference between the gnarled anguish of a Swift, who, beset with a rare, exacting sense of degradation, attempted in myth to drag all mankind down with him, and the selectiveness of Forsythe, who distributes praise and blame in accordance with the demands of a particular social platform. Though he might never in all his life run for office, Forsythe is engaged in *political* excoriation; his work is typically editorial-writing in a party organ.

The job of the satiric propagandist is also notably different from the job of the catch-as-catch-can funmaker (so prevalent in America today), who can engage us by scrambling our values in purely haphazard fashion. "What one must have, to be a success with The New Yorker," Forsythe writes, "is an ability to make even the most transcendental event trivial." It is not hard to understand why satirists who change the scale of things, turning major terrors into minor annoyances, are much sought after—for with the help of such magic, the Vague Shapes of Historic Calamity are whisked away, to be replaced by odd discomforts, reassuring in their tininess.

The difference between these comic exorcists and the satiric propagandist is that the former, like Swift, can train their stylistic guns in all directions whereas the propagandist has a clear alignment of friends and foes. (Incidentally, as it works out in practice, the catch-as-catch-can school will be found on closer examination to be partisan also, if not consistently, at least in the predominant quality of their work, for though they are theoretically at liberty to spoof anything, they learn in time that certain butts sell better than others, and in thus accommodating themselves to their market, they are imperceptibly inspired by the genius of partisanship implicit in that market.)

When a satirist is competent, our heel of Achilles is the most prominent part of our anatomy. Anybody, without exception, can be pictured as fool, coward, compromiser, hypocrite, snob, liar, opportunist, coxcomb, vulgarian, etc., given the proper "angle of approach." The important consideration thus becomes: What angle of approach is implicit in the work of the particular satirist? Forsythe, exemplifying a pro-communist perspective, stimulates us to confront the ills of the contemporary world, not by a magical device for converting them downwards into the little and remote—as though seen through the wrong end of a telescope—but by implying throughout his work that these ills can in large measure be remedied. He would doubtless admit that vices will always be with us, in any social or economic texture; but the important thing for him is to point out the ways in which late capitalism has *organized* the anti-social, giving it efficiency, voice and authority, and consolidating it with the help of the educative, legislative and constabulary forces. Thus he may etch, where those of The New Yorker school must smudge: he may present evils in magnitude (since he also has a theory of cure) where the others, the conscious or unconscious apologists, must dwarf. By the pleasant embellishments of his wit, coupled with the encouragement of his doctrine, he better enables us to look a bungled situation in the face.

Of course, satire of this sort is closely interwoven with the texture of the news. Forsythe, like Dos Passos, writes from the headlines (is more publicist than poet). A story breaks, flooding the public consciousness for a few hours, days or weeks—and Forsythe appears with some cutting

[1] Redder Than the Rose, by Robert Forsythe. New York: Covici, Friede. 241 pages. $2.

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comments that neatly polish it off. Thus, your interest in his book will be largely dependent upon the extent of your familiarity with the outstanding gossip of telegraph and radio, that convincing brand of "reality" constructed for us through channels of organized news-gathering (and one can only conjecture what a warped picture the news may provide, so thoroughly identified with "reality" has this brand of selection, interpretation and focus become for us).

One may argue how vital the news is, and how long a given fragment of it remains vital. In so far as a story withers from the public memory, losing its immediacy, I suspect that the satiric comments erected upon it tend to wither proportionately. But in so far as the events and personalities about which Forsythe constructs his articles retain vitality as news (which is now the case), "Redder Than the Rose" should gratify with its deftness, sophistication and clearly demarcated point of view. The author is not merely out to gorge you with giggles. He is infused with the belief that "gangsterism is only a lesser phase of the gangsterism of Big Business"—and perhaps we might call this the pivotal judgment about which all his philosophy revolves.

KENNETH BURKE.

Storm Signals

Forerunners of American Fascism, by Raymond Gram Swing. New York: Julian Messner. 169 pages. $1.75.

IN THE first days of Roosevelt's victory and the early honeymoon phase of the New Deal, the Marxist prediction that this new era would prove to be a stage in the development of American capitalism towards fascism was not welcomed by the majority of liberals. Today, within two years, Mr. Raymond Gram Swing—one of the editors of a foremost liberal weekly and an internationally experienced political journalist—can easily and simply dismiss on the second page of his recent book the N.R.A. and "much else in the New Deal" as being "fascist." He can then devote the remainder of his book to a consideration of which of the various demagogues seeking to capitalize the existing discontent and disillusionment with Roosevelt may prove most likely as the agent of an advance to open fascism in the United States.

The development of liberal opinion here reflected, the complete disillusionment with Roosevelt and the wide awakening to the menace of fascism, is an important sign of the times. Mr. Swing's book demonstrates how easily fascism can develop through the existing forms and through the final stage of the emergence of demagogically led mass movements under the ultimate control of big business, and gives a vivid factual exposure of the demagogic humbugs who have already come to the forefront and who, in the present situation, inevitably take on a fascist significance—whether they are more or less conscious careerists (a Long or a Coughlin), naïve self-deluders (a Townsend) or old-hand mass-deceivers like William Randolph Hearst. The value of this exposure material on the whole outweighs any criticism that may be suggested by some of the arguments in the line of the treatment.

Nevertheless, the question may be raised whether this sharp liberal awakening to the menace of fascism is not in danger of jumping to the other extreme, of taking too easily for granted the inevitability of the victory of such a movement in America and of wallowing in pessimistic contemplation of a future it is unable to avert. On the whole, Mr. Swing appears to regard fascism as destined to conquer in America. In at least one passage he declares fascism not "inevitable" if one of two alternatives takes place: either a "business recovery" sufficient to give work and incomes for all, which he regards as not "likely," or something "to make democracy work"—which he regards as proved improbable of occurrence by the failure of the New Deal. The one alternative that is not even considered is the possibility of effective mass resistance to fascism, and the net impression to be got from the book is that fascism is almost certain to come in America and cannot be successfully fought.

Is this analysis correct? Certainly, the menace is extremely serious, especially owing to the retarded development of the working-class movement. The commonplace arguments pointing to the obvious differences between American and European conditions are superficial, and do not touch the roots of the issue. Nevertheless, there is a sense in which any too simple analogy from previous experience is dangerous. The victory of National Socialism in Germany has powerfully awakened the opposition forces in all countries. The United Front in France has so far successfully routed repeated fascist offensives. Similar lessons can be learned from the battles in Spain and even from the preliminary encounters with Mosley in Britain.

In the United States the Roosevelt era has seen a powerful development of the mass struggle: the Communist Party has more than trebled its membership under the conditions of the crisis and grown considerably in mass influence, experience and prestige; and considerable proportions of middle-class elements are rallying to unity with proletarian forces. The Second Congress Against War and Fascism represented a total membership of 1,600,000. These constitute the organized nucleus of the future anti-fascist forces. By comparison the fabled millions of the Coughlins and Longs are so far only mailing lists, though their time for active organization will also come. But the outcome of gigantic future social struggles in the United States may appear in different forms from the simple and obvious fascist way that some liberal fainthearts predict.

In Mr. Swing's view, on the other hand, the best promise of continued immunity is the weakness of the working class: "Our one hope of safety against fascism may lie in the absence of any formidable communist movement." The militant working class is thus seen, not as the strongest bulwark and only sure protection against fascism, but as the source of the danger; if only we are weak and disarmed enough, perhaps the enemy will not attack. The experience of the successes of the United Front in France, and of the revolutionary working class in the Soviet Union, contrasted with the fate of the disunited working class under reformist leadership in Germany, would seem evidence to the contrary.

But if Mr. Swing thus rejects the militant working class, what alternative protection can he offer? None. He can only bring forward the doubtful hope of liberal democracy, in whose effectiveness he confesses himself to have lost belief since the Roosevelt experiment. Roosevelt, as he puts it, has proved "weaker than the forces of finance capitalism." "Democratic government is virtually impotent in opposing the growth of finance capitalism." The so-called "democratic" forms are thus admitted to be helpless tools. Fascism is also very clearly shown to be in practice a tool in the hands of finance-capital. Yet the one form is seen as the only possible, though doubtful, protection against the other. In spite of the book's valuable material, this major trend of its logic is a hopeless muddle, leading only to impotence and despair.

R. PALME DUTT.

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Men's Fate

Paths of Glory, by Humphrey Cobb. New York: The Viking Press. $2.50.

CONSIDERING the complexity and inertia of the modern military machine, there is nothing more fantastic to contemplate than the idea of uprisings within a nation's forces, by land or sea. There have been mutinies in the British fleet and in the French army, during and since the War; but they were quick and fatal and it is not possible to know much about them. Historians pass over them with a furtive tightening of footnotes, and governments first deny that there is anything there and then strongly enjoin you from poking your nose into it. Because to amount to anything, to have any life at all today, a mutiny must grow into a revolution, with the support of the masses.

There was the case of Russia—where even under great social pressure and great leaders, the fate of armed rebellion stood in the balance for months. And those who remember Theodor Plivier's book of a few years ago, "The Kaiser's Coolies," will remember how in his Imperial Majesty's fleet there was nothing for it but endure through all those drab terrible years, until the whole nation had gone to pieces and all the common people everywhere were sick and desperate and all the men in all the ships were ready to leave their stations, batten down their officers and replace their flag with old deck-swabs and bits of red bunting.

While this book "Paths of Glory" has nothing to do with the more serious French mutinies of 1919, it sets a stage big enough to comprehend them in its story of an earlier affair—a fluke mutiny. It takes the case of Company 5 (63rd French infantry), which was shot practically to pieces in the St. Mihiel sector in 1915, then filled with raw replacements and shoved back into the front line again. The Fifth was a crack fighting company, an object of enemy terror; it no sooner got into the trenches than all the machine guns in the world were ripping into it, in the face of which it could not advance, in view of which the regimental command considered a fault to have been perpetrated, as a result of which five men were chosen by lot to face the firing squad, which shot them dead.

This is the actual case as it was reported in the papers a year ago, when a French military tribunal had finally found in favor of the five mutineers, exonerated the men and awarded a bounty of one franc each to their widows. Humphrey Cobb has taken this case and worked it up into a state of immediate probability, changing such details as would not fit into the pattern, filling in inevitable gaps with an imagination tempered by first-rate knowledge of background. The company becomes a regiment, the basic evil is personalized in the figure of Assolant, an officer of limitless fire, cruelty and ambition; and the story becomes the tragedy of three men.

There are other characters in it, of course—none of them superfluous, all of them various and plausible types, introduced and carried forward with a natural ease that is a study in literary economy. There is the officer who turned coward and the officer who made a point of caring personally for his men's safety, and got his pelvis carried away, and died hours later in the chalk pit, just having carefully reasoned out that the lump under his shoulders was his leg. There is the gunnery officer who refused to fire on his own trenches (no promotion for that officer), and the whole dead-weight ramification of higher-ups fighting the war on paper; and there are the men, particularly the men—filthy and weary, callous, desperate, shrewd. (Here is the stuff for a mutiny, but only when the last foolish hope has been extinguished, when the last man has nothing to live for. And here as well, above but with the men, is the force for suppression: the officers, who if the men are successful will then have nothing to live for themselves, and who will therefore shoot them down first, in the name of courage, or betray them in the name of loyalty. And that is the tough thing about mutiny: the hopeless mess of conflicting allegiances and the desire for self-preservation, contained within the world of the service.)

In tying these people and their implicit stories together into the welter of life in the front-line trenches, Cobb gets a spare dramatic tension that is really something. Take the account of the patrol duty, the minutes before zero hour, the crossing of the chalk pit, or the terrible beauty of Didier's letter to his wife, before execution. And the trial scene, precise in its solemn rape of justice. The horrors of the execution scene are too thickly spread on; but for compact power and reach of truth the book is already an outstanding novel of this time.

This is thanks partly to its large and arresting subject matter, and partly to the author, on whom such a subject places large demands. In "Paths of Glory" there are only a few people, only a tiny fragment of the War. But behind these pinpoints in time and space, represented and made understood by them, there is a picture of men that is larger than this regiment or this war, or even this system of society. The book is a very bitter comment on the human condition in general, on the trampling, heedless, striving and stupid qualities brought into play by any such bureaucratic structure as the military, and registered in terms of hardship and slaughter by such a mortal shambles as a war machine—whose weight is too crushing to be endured, but too crushing to be overthrown.

OTIS FERGUSON.

Kingdom of Jerusalem

The Kingdom of the Crusaders, by Dana Carleton Munro. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 231 pages, illustrated. $2.50.

THIS WORK puts into book form Professor Munro's Lowell Lectures at Harvard in 1924, as revised by him in preparation for the comprehensive treatment on the Crusades that was to have capped his life labors in medieval studies. Unfortunately death interrupted these labors, and students who knew his deep interest in and knowledge of the period of the Crusades must be content with the present volume.

The book opens with an account of the territory that became the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and of the successive crusades that brought the land into the hands of the Christian knights. The rest of the work is devoted to a complete account of the establishment, rise, zenith, decline and loss of the kingdom, with two notable chapters—one on the relations between the invaders and the natives, one on the historical importance of the kingdom. The subject is ideal for such an expanded monograph as this work. Professor Munro was fully acquainted with all available source material from a life's work in this field; and had in addition a personal knowledge of the region through a trip to the Near East, made especially for this purpose. The result is a highly readable and at the same time authoritative work on one phase of the history of the Crusades. It is the kind of book that should have, on its own merits, a larger audience than simply those interested in medieval studies.

MASON WADE.

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The Waste Land

Capitalism and Its Culture, by Jerome Davis. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 576 pages. $3.

THE CRITICISM of capitalism has gone through two broad stages. First came recognition of the whole series of social horrors that attended the exploitation of the new industrial proletariat. This was marked by the publication of Engels' mordant picture of the working classes in England, by Ruskin's denunciation of Manchesterdom, by Carlyle's "Past and Present" and by the veracious reports of the English factory inspectors of the 1840's.

The second stage began with Marx and reached its scholarly pinnacle in Sombart's history of modern capitalism. This stage consisted in understanding capitalism as a historic movement that had arisen out of certain antecedent institutions, had worked out a new technique and a new ideology, and had ramified into every department of society. Marx's criticism changed the focus from the wickedness of special capitalists to the neutral characteristics of a whole system, and it established the "normality" of capitalism's abnormalities. Granting the capitalist premises in economics and ethics, granting the rule of purely quantitative standards, pecuniary emulation and an acquisitive life, one could not wonder particularly at the disastrous conclusions that followed in society.

This second series of studies led to a greater insight into the nature of contemporary society, taken as a dynamic interrelated complex whose benefits and defects largely derive from the same sources. What remained by way of criticism was to isolate one aspect or another of our existence, and to contrast the purely capitalist element in our patterns of conduct with other institutional and personal sources. In spite of the title of Professor Davis' book, what we have here is something quite different: still another documentation of the evils of present-day capitalist enterprise. It differs from the surveys of a century ago because the material is more abundant and because it covers every aspect of our existence. In a word, Professor Davis has summarized, united and carried further the useful surveys of waste undertaken by Stuart Chase, of dishonest commercial exploitation by Schlink and Kallett, of polluted education by the author of "The Goose-step" and "Mammonart."

The factual material in "Capitalism and Its Culture" is impressive, for the case against capitalism no longer rests merely upon the extreme horrors and brutalities of the mine, the sweatshop and the company town: it rests upon the common, day-to-day results in the lives of all of us. But capitalism as a system represents a wholesale perversion of human activities and purposes quite as sinister as any perversion *within* the system. Even Professor Davis, curiously, does not escape its effects. Just as the Technocrats glibly talk of an economy of abundance, without admitting the faintest doubt as to whether an economy of abundance as such is in fact an economy of life, so Professor Davis in his preface laments that it was impossible "to make an adequate study of capitalism" because "this would demand a staff of assistants and an appropriation of money equal to the amount spent on 'Recent Social Trends.'" Surely a critic of capitalist culture should see that there is no necessary relation between unlimited factual acquisitiveness and pertinent scientific knowledge: rather, on the contrary, these gross factual accumulations are in the very nature of current capitalist exploitation and, carried over into the intellectual life, are responsible for the fuzzy innocuousness and intellectual bankruptcy of so much apparent scientific zeal.

But this is by the way. As a factual survey Professor Davis' book performs a useful service in documenting the weaknesses, the miscarriages and the outright perversions of contemporary capitalist society. The criticism is keen; if it is not a brilliant theoretic exposition in the fashion of Marx, Veblen, Tawney or Sombart, the result is at least an able handbook.

LEWIS MUMFORD.

Lyric Prophet

Dance of Fire, by Lola Ridge. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas. 104 pages. $2.

LOLA RIDGE, since the publication of her first book, "The Ghetto," in 1918 has grown both in degree of feeling and power over form. Her work, from the beginning, displayed a larger than lyric purpose, and was informed with a zeal for social justice. In her two latest volumes, "Firehead" and "Dance of Fire," her poetry has taken on a mystic intention which, at times, approaches prophetic ardor. Her early work—written in the free-verse form now so obsolete that it might be the product of the century before last, rather than of the last decade but one—depended almost wholly, for its heightening effects, upon the simile; prosodic depth was almost entirely lacking, as were syntactic variation and stress. Miss Ridge has learned many technical lessons since "The Ghetto." Her work still depends, however, on rhetorical structure for its power, and to this texture we should give some attention.

Charles Williams has defined lyric poetry as "that poetry which succeeds in turning one poignant emotion into another poignant emotion without introducing any modifying or transmuting elements, except, of course, itself." The pure lyric cry, when successfully released, automatically purges its form of all but necessary words. Poetry of philosophic or prophetic order must use more than the bare bones of speech; and it is important that the fuller expression clarifies rather than dulls. In Miss Ridge's work, when we consider it merely as craftsmanship, we discover that the defects hampering the poem's intensity, as well as the excellences enlarging its scope, are both dependent on her use of words. At its worst, her language is overcharged and weakened by the weight of modifiers, especially adverbs; at its best, it frees her thought and feeling to a remarkable degree. Three sonnets in the sequence "Via Ignis" of the present volume stand equal to the best modern work, and the longer poems have moments of great power, even terror, and beauty.

For Miss Ridge has not fallen victim to the sicknesses that may overtake the poet of mystic and prophetic imagination. Her sensibilities work intensely, and have escaped that sort of blindness and deaf-mutism often apparent when the design is large and the emotion not resolved by lyric feeling. She shows true signs of impulsion rather than compulsion. She manages to introduce Piccard and the stratosphere with some meaning and dignity into the poem on the deaths of Sacco and Vanzetti, and many lines in this poem, including the last, are lighted with passionate observation. The one poem in the book that fails in its fullest possible effect is the poem on Van der Lubbe, "Fireboy." It is a subject that has baffled Stephen Spender as well, and it is puzzling why the ignoble victim of the Reichstag trial should excite the imagination, when Georgi Dimitroff goes unsung. Miss Ridge's endowment is of the sort to celebrate the noblest and the bravest, and to cast over them some reflection from her inner and her symbolic fire.

LOUISE BOGAN.

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Books in Brief

Tsar of Freedom: Life and Reign of Alexander II, by Stephen Graham. New Haven: Yale University Press. 336 pages. $3.50.

AGAIN, as in his previous biographies of Ivan the Terrible and Boris Godunov, Mr. Graham reveals his ease in the field of Russian history and his grace as a writer. In this book dealing with a Russian monarch very much to his taste and an age that produced the greatest writers in Russian literature—and, at least in prose fiction, in the literature of the world—Mr. Graham abandons almost completely his racial prejudice against the Russians. Other prejudices, however, persist. He glosses over the fact that as the emancipator of the serfs, Alexander permitted the economic servitude of the peasants to be intensified. The royal revolution left the people's revolution as necessary as ever but, in Mr. Graham's interpretation, Alexander's reign—which was terminated by his assassination after a long period of reaction—was the tragic drama of a good ruler and an ungrateful people. I. S.

Fishes and Their Ways of Life, by Louis Roule. Translated by Conrad Elphinstone. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 320 pages, illustrated. $3.75.

In an earlier volume Professor Roule (of the Museum of Natural History in Paris) told us a fascinating story about the migrations of fishes. Now he returns with another book in which more facts on the hard science of Ichthyology are presented with a charm and genial scholarship reminiscent of J. H. Fabre. Here we learn of the true ingredients of the famous bouillabaisse; we see the delicate mechanism of electric fish in action; learn about sharks' teeth and the poisonous ways of the Murry, killer-fish of Roman emperors. The habits of tunny, trout, carp, catfish and the barbed mullet are described; and a score of other fish are used as examples in chapters on how they swim, eat, breathe, see and protect themselves from their many enemies. There is also a curious account of the way in which fish respond to vibrations in the water, often from a great distance, and of the tiny eel that often lies at the heart of a pearl. Altogether, a most readable book, to which the translator had done more than justice.

H. W.

I Love, by A. Avdeyenko. New York: International Publishers. 283 pages. $1.50.

Avdeyenko's "love" covers wider territories than sex. The intense enjoyment the author derives from working at a trade he likes (that of an engine-driver), the pride he feels in being honestly useful and appreciated in his community, are part of his emotion. Some of the main incidents in this autobiographical story are reminiscent of "The Road to Life." Like the boys in that Soviet movie, Avdeyenko was a wild, homeless youngster. His early years were spent in a sty of sordidness and brutality. With his family he lived, during pre-revolutionary days, in a miners' settlement aptly called the Dog Kennels. When his family was wiped out by the miserable conditions about them, he went wandering through Russia, living catch as catch can, drinking, taking dope, becoming a proficient crook. Knifed in a quarrel, he was taken to a commune for homeless waifs where, in spite of his background, he was able to acquire a sense of social responsibility and a trade. The author writes in a quick, graphic style that is more concerned with its subject matter than it is with language embellishments. There are passages in the book that might have been made less awkward by the author or the translator but, taken as a whole, "I Love" is a fine example of the strong and vigorous literature a healthy social structure can breed.

O, Chautauqua, by Thomas Duncan. New York: Coward-McCann. $2.

In a manner that teeters strangely from callowness to forced sophistication, Mr. Duncan has written his first novel around the life of one of the numerous Chautauqua troupes that flourished in the twenties. What might have been a human and exciting portrayal of a rapidly dying practice peculiarly American, is distorted by the author's tendency to stress the spicy and the trivial, and to slight the things that go to make a novel convincing. J. M.

An Indiscretion in the Life of an Heiress, by Thomas Hardy. Edited by Carl J. Weber. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. $2.

This novelette, previously inaccessible, derives from Hardy's first (and supposedly lost) novel, "The Poor Man and the Lady." As Mr. Weber convincingly shows, the episodes that constitute the tale correspond to those revealed by Sir Edmund Gosse shortly after the novelist's death. Unfortunately, the most interesting portions of the book as first conceived were either destroyed or reworked into Hardy's first two published novels, "Desperate Remedies" and "Under the Greenwood Tree." The socialistic implications of the story, the pictures of the heartlessness of "high society," and the "wise speech" of the hero to the working class, prominently mentioned by the few who read the novel in its original form, are all missing. In destroying these features, Hardy emasculated the book until it became a conventional Victorian tale, distinctive only for its exaggeration of faults that characterize much of his work. To the scholar both the ingenious preface and the text are valuable; the general reader had better stick to the acknowledged masterpieces. H. C. W.

Contributors

THEODORE ROETHKE is a native of Saginaw, Michigan, and was educated at Michigan and Harvard Universities. For the past four years he has been an instructor in English at Lafayette College. He has contributed to The Atlantic Monthly, The New Masses and other magazines.

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R. PALME DUTT is a graduate of Oxford University and has been editor of The Labour Monthly in England since 1921. His books include "Fascism and Social Revolution," published last year by International Publishers.

MASON WADE, who works for a New York publisher, lives in Connecticut and writes reviews and critical articles for various magazines.

LEWIS MUMFORD'S most recent book was "Technics and Civilization," published last year. He has written on architecture, art, literature and the social sciences.

LOUISE BOGAN, author of two books of verse, "Body of This Death" and "Dark Summer," was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1933. Her new book of poetry, "Sleeping Fury," has been announced for publication in 1936.

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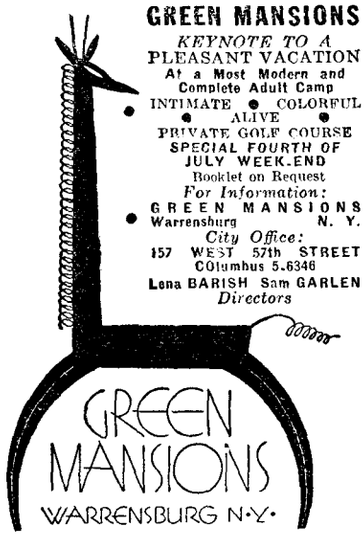

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